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A LETTER  
TO THE  
DUKE OF GRAFTON.

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A LETTER  
TO THE  
DUKE OF GRAFTON,  
WITH NOTES.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED  
A COMPLETE EXCULPATION  
OF

*M. DE LA FAYETTE*

FROM THE CHARGES INDECENTLY URGED AGAINST HIM BY

*Mr. BURKE,*

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*On the 17th March, 1794.*

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# A LETTER

TO THE

## DUKE OF GRAFTON.

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London, March 20, 1794.

**I**T is matter of surprise, my Lord, to many, and of offence to all, that your Grace should again provoke the suspended indignation of your country, and renounce that obscurity to which the universal and well-founded contempt of the world had consigned you. To recur to past events, and recall the pitiful measures of an Administration, marked by folly, turpitude, and cowardice, in which the kingdom was dishonoured abroad, and oppressed at home, would be wresting from the historian the painful, but indispensable obligation of recording the foul catalogue, not of crimes dignified by success and justified by necessity, but of innumerable mischiefs bequeathed to your successors, the sad effects of which an interval of twenty years has not been able to efface.

It is not the melancholy detail of a life nearly consumed in the wretched pursuits of every thing that is mean and disreputable.—It is not your public or private history that is offered to your notice, but a strong and well merited remonstrance against proceedings, which mark the guilt and natural meanness of a character, known only to be reprobated, and which excites scorn or derision wherever it is mentioned.—It is an examination, my Lord, of your pretensions to that patriotism and respect, which your Grace has lately claimed in your legislative capacity; and with whatever ill-humour this remonstrance may be received, with whatever contempt you may affect to treat its substance or its language, the truths it contains, and the events to which it alludes, will require the full exertion of your philosophy to bear with fortitude, and the whole stock of family effrontery to recollect without blushing.

Surely, my Lord, Junius, who seems to have understood your character, and to have acquired a tolerable knowledge of human nature, must have counted too much on his discernment, when he supposed it possible for a man to be reclaimed, on whom precept and example never had any influence, but when they pointed to that pre-eminence from which good men turn with anger and aversion.

What

What a misfortune it is, that your Grace has not availed yourself of the prediction of your adversary, and enabled the prophet to become the historian of your reformation!—The opportunity is left; and, notwithstanding your present efforts to recover it, the reproach of having read Junius as the Bishops read the Old Testament, cannot be avoided. *They* would verify the prophecies of the Jews, without being warned by their fate, or benefited by the admonitions they received.—We know that the Author who has been quoted is not a favourite with your Grace; but something is due to his generosity, when he asserts, that “*there is hardly a period at which the most irregular character may not be redeemed.*”—Your character, my Lord, offers an exception to a rule, the application of which, as far as it relates to yourself, may be denied, without any injury to your reputation, or offence to your feelings. The passage, however, to which we allude has not been forgotten.—Your Grace, it seems, has held it in faithful remembrance; and, alarmed at the prospect of internal commotions, you would willingly make your peace before the day of retribution arrives;—but the deception is too gross to mislead our judgment;—a succession of impostures too impudent to be forgotten, and too calamitous to be forgiven, have put the people



on their guard; and they know from experience, that it is not every man who bellows for liberty that is an enemy to despotism. Ever fertile in expedients, you seem anxious to provide against this difficulty, by espousing the cause of benevolence; so that what should be denied on the score of patriotism might be amply made up to you on that of humanity. This, in the language of the turf, was no bad hedge; and if it did not succeed as you wished, we may venture to assert, that it was not owing to any delicacy on the part of your Grace.

It is really not meant, my Lord, to question with acrimony, or too much nicety, your claim to any one good quality of the mind or heart, to which any tolerable pretensions can be advanced; and do not attribute it to malevolence, when we express our surprize, that the only two instances in which you have condescended to appeal to our judgment, should be precisely those on which the world has long since decided, in a manner it may not be prudent to repeat, and certainly not very consonant with your late declarations in Parliament.

In referring to past times, we find more than sufficient to question the purity of your motives for the part you have taken; nor is the ground which you have chosen an argument either of your truth or discretion. The trade and manufactures

factures of this country will always suffer interruption and diminution at the commencement of every war, and this interruption will necessarily produce inconvenience and distress to those who are immediately concerned in either; but your Grace might have learnt from the same source from whence you derived your information, a consolatory assurance, that the interruption and distress which you deplore, are merely temporary, and that, recovered from the sudden check which commerce always receives on the commencement of hostilities, it soon resumes its former vigour; but the context would not have answered your purpose; it would have shewn, that a nation reduced almost to bankruptcy, at the close of an iniquitous, and certainly an ill-conducted war, could recover herself by her own exertions;—it would have held out hope and consolation to a people smarting under temporary difficulties, and whose ill humour it is attempted to provoke into acts of violence and sedition. How comes it, my Lord, that with every inducement to support Government which can arise from a sense of honour and of prudence, you should have declared against it?—Surely, your Grace might have held out other prospects than ruin and despondency; while authorized by the indisputable evidence of official documents, you might have taught your

tenants



tenants and your neighbours to look forward to better days.—But this again would not have suited your purpose;—neither would it have corresponded with a temper naturally disposed to abridge the miserable portion of human felicity, which unhappily falls within its power to controul.

In a work lately published, and which is meant to correct wilful misrepresentation, as well as to instruct the ignorant, your Grace will find a full refutation of all your prognostics.

To a vigorous and well-informed mind, the Author \* adds great accuracy and precision in argument; and in the late edition of his Estimate of the Comparative strength of Great Britain, your Grace will find, that the value of cargoes exported at the end of the year 1782, from England only, amounted to 12,375,750*l.* and that at the end of 1792, they had encreased to 23,679,316*l.*—The shipping cleared outwards at the former period was 761,362 tons;—at the latter, it amounted to 1,561,154. And if the export trade of this country almost doubled itself in the course of ten years; if the country, depressed as she was in a struggle with the three great maritime Powers of Europe, and a civil war of considerable extent, recovered herself in so short a period, what right has you Grace to

\* Mr. Chalmers.

suppose

suppose that the same advantages may not arise from the same exertions, and the nation arrive at a degree of splendor in the year 1802, proportionate to that which she was found in 1792, compared to that of 1782?

Be assured, my Lord, that if you seriously lament the injury our trade receives from the difficulties of the moment, the book recommended to your perusal will afford you infinite consolation; and as Norfolk and Suffolk appear to have their Jasper Wilsons, as well as Liverpool, it will be an act of humanity to those wrong-headed gentlemen, and of justice to your Sovereign, to order an hundred copies of this inestimable performance to be distributed, for the information of those who prefer truth to falsehood, and on whose affections their country, its laws and Government have not lost their hold.

But perhaps your Grace is yet to learn, that it is malicious to represent as perpetual, those calamities which are in their very nature of short duration. If the distresses are of the extent you describe; if famine and despondency prevail in distant provinces, it is wonderful that the disastrous state of our manufacturers has not been made public through channels less apocryphal, and better entitled to credit and respect.—For you, my Lord, to come forward, circumstanced as you are, and with all the mischiefs entailed

entailed on us by your pernicious councils, is the height of indecency—it is worse—it is an affront to the nation, and a libel on its Government.

For you, my Lord, to claim our confidence, after having so grossly abused it, and to pretend an attachment to those interests, which, on a variety of occasions, you have sacrificed to your spleen and convenience, are not atonements for past wrongs, but attempts at fresh insults, which, considering the temper of the times, it will be imprudent to repeat, lest they should remind the people of their obligations to others as well as to your Grace, and stimulate them to an irregular discharge of what it is your interest they should bury in oblivion.

We will spare you the perusal of names which, on this occasion, have precedency to that of Fitzroy, as well as those which, with much less pretensions to general hatred, have not been able to remove the suspicions excited by an abuse of the confidence reposed in them.

We do not allude to those, who, possessing the minds of lacqueys have not sufficient dignity to preserve them from infamous pursuits, nor the requisite talents to direct them to good ones.—But to men who, in their opposition to Government, have nothing in view but to engross the patronage, and to share the emoluments of office

vice among a beggarly train of cousins and dependents ; and who, without abilities to execute, or character to dignify the stations they solicit, have the arrogance to consider the wealth and industry of the nation as their inheritance. The attempts, direct and indirect, which were made on the constitutional rights of the people, from the commencement of the present reign down to the sad period of the American contest, afforded ample scope to men of enterprize to come forward, some few, with fair and honest designs, who really meant to serve their country, and others who acted without principle or union ;—both these descriptions of men assumed one common language ;—both opposed the measures of the Crown, and contended for that support and that confidence which was to ensure them success ;—that confidence was cheerfully granted, and you Grace is no stranger to the extent to which it has been abused.—Hence the distrust that prevails, and the necessity of that circumspection which can alone preserve us from similar frauds in future.—If we are grown cautious and suspicious, my Lord, it is because we have been deceived ; and it will surely be acknowledged, that we live to little purpose indeed, if we do not profit by experience.

We have been taught to estimate the moral rectitude of men, and the sincerity of their professions,



fessions, by the fidelity with which they discharge their engagements; and with this rule to direct us (the only guide whom we can trust, and the only one to whom we can refer) would it not argue insanity, or imbecility, if we were to give your Grace credit for sentiments to which the uniform tenor of a life far advanced on its journey, presents a full and complete contradiction?—Believe me, my Lord, that patriotism will neither afford you a safe nor an honourable retreat. Our credulity has been too often imposed upon, to allow you to hope any comfortable shelter in that quarter; nor should we have suspected your Grace capable of so flagrant a desertion of your former principles, as to seek a refuge so contrary to your established habits, if the revolution which has taken place in men's minds had not awakened your fears for your personal safety, and suggested a possibility of avoiding the well-founded resentment of the people, by the pitiful expedient of pretending to support their interests!—The effort, I own, is not without precedent; and the experiment, in this awful moment, when bad men of *contrary* descriptions have much to *fear* and much to *hope*, was certainly worth trying; but what hope of success, my Lord, could *you* possibly entertain, while your strong and triumphant claim to that regular and systematic conduct, stands unimpeached,

unimpeached, and unimpaired, “ *which renders*  
 “ *your attachment infamy, and leaves ruin and dis-*  
 “ *grace behind it ?*”

So far, however, from suspecting your Grace of any serious intention to give the lie to the uniform tenor of your life; we perceive in your mode of coming forward, a more than common solicitude, to preserve that consistency of conduct, which separates you as effectually from your fellow citizens, as if you were of a distinct species; and from whatever motive you may have acted, we are equally indebted to you for fortifying us in our natural distrust of your professions, and putting us on our guard against any future mischiefs you may intend us. But even admitting the purity of your intentions, where is the party that would act with you? Where is the individual, my Lord, that will trust you? Where is the man, who, with any portion of reputation left, and anxious to preserve the remainder, would hazard it by associating it with that of yours? To come forward in your declining days, and brave the public opinion, is effrontery, not courage. It resembles the desperate efforts of the ruined gamester, who stakes in despair his last guinea, and trusts to the hazard of the dye for a favourable issue.

Have a care, my Lord, the game you propose to play is deeper than you suspect. The people

are not uninformed of the foul and polluted source from whence you derive your rank and income. They are not to be told, that with one or two exceptions, your pedigree can claim more infamy, and less antiquity, than that of any other peer in Parliament, and, surely under such circumstances, and under such an accumulation of hereditary and acquired odium, it ill becomes you to remind us of the impudent violation of the laws, by which your ancestor was advanced to honour and independence.

Be advised, my Lord, and do not add to the ill humour that prevails, lest it should extend to an enquiry, that may terminate in depriving you of what (by an unwarrantable and scandalous abuse of power) has been settled on your family, and force you to observe that economy from necessity, which you have latterly practised by choice.

Would your Grace wish to have your pretensions to the title you inherit, and to the income you possess, investigated by the wiser maxims\* of the present day? Would you wish  
it

\* The excitement to enterprise and industry in all nations, will ever be in proportion to the degree of security, with which property can be enjoyed and transmitted; and it is owing to this security, which is derived from our laws, that commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, have been carried

on



it to be revealed to the nation, and to the world, that one of the probable causes of your aversion to the war, is the diminution it may eventually occasion

on, and improved, to a much greater extent in this country than in any other, while the laws themselves have acquired stability and respect, from the wisdom in which they are founded, and the fidelity with which they are executed. I have judged this explanation necessary, lest it should be inferred, that I am infected with the licentiousness of the times, and would investigate title deeds, and level all distinctions, upon the same principle that the French have done.

I have no such design.—On the contrary, I have ever reprobated their conduct on this, and many other occasions, as absurd, impolitic, and iniquitous.

But I make a distinction between the fruits of honest industry; between reward bestowed on individuals, for great and meritorious services rendered to the State, and delapidations of the public revenue, for the purpose of providing for the spurious issue of princes. I make a distinction between titles conferred on men who have deserved well of their country, and those which have been the recompence of adultery or incontinence. In the first instance, the Sovereign distributes wisely and honestly those honors, which the nation has entrusted to his disposal. In the second, he abuses the confidence reposed in him, and insults public morals, by giving splendor and eclat to prostitution.—Charles the Second, in granting any portion of the public revenue to his illegitimate issue, was guilty of a breach of trust to the nation, and the Parliament that sanctioned the grant was an accomplice in the fraud. The wiser maxims of the present day, forbid so scandalous a deviation from the line of duty prescribed to the Crown. They ordain, that for all public distinction  
there

occasion in that part of your income, which, (in recompence to profligate libertinism) has been saddled on the Customs? Or do you think that its being generally known to arise from a fraudulent appropriation of the public revenue, (for in honest conscience, my Lord, what else can it be called) will render it more secure, or obtain affection and respect, from the million whom you have by turns insulted, and carested?

It is idle to suppose, that with the perfect knowledge which we have of your character and your principles, with the recollection of the mischiefs you have entailed on your country, and the odium annexed to your name, you can ever obtain, even a momentary popularity, for your professions of patriotism. Nor is it possible, my Lord, that you can ever rise into notice or esteem, under any change of fortune, (however deplorable) that can possibly befall us. To claim our confidence, after the melancholy experience we have had of your incapacity and

there should be some public merit; that no member of society should be raised above the rest without an *equivalent* being given for the superiority; and as the principles of right and Civil Government, appear to be better understood, and better practised in this century, than they were in the last, it is fair to conclude, that men become just in proportion as they become enlightened.

insincerity;

insincerity ; to come forward at this period of your life, with an affected anxiety for the prosperity of the empire ; with a dissembled concern for its peace and prosperity, exceeds all that hypocrisy has hitherto attempted ; all that arrogance has ever dared to assume ; it puts even impudence to the blush, and warns us with the voice of Stentor, to beware of COUNTERFEITS ! Be assured, my Lord, that it is as indecent in your Grace, to expect our confidence, as it would be criminal and absurd in us to bestow it. Is it not an insult to our understanding, that you, of all men in his Majesty's dominions, should presume to come forward, under the masque of patriotism, to embarrass the Executive Government ?—Are you aware, my Lord, of the consequences of such a conduct at a period like the present, when the unreserved support of every man in the three kingdoms should be fully and cheerfully given to the Crown ?—When the whole Empire is called upon to resent unprovoked aggression, the object of which is to tear not only the diadem from the head of your Sovereign, but the shuttle from the weaver, the anvil from the smith, and the plough from the husbandman ?

Is your Grace yet to learn, that the war is of an extent unexampled in the annals of the world ; that it aims no less to wrest from the labourer

labourer and mechanic the well-earned fruits of their honest industry, than to extinguish the power and annihilate the commerce of your country? Are you to be informed, after the woeful proofs we have had of the wild and execrable principles on which the French commenced this war, and have resolved to pursue it, that it is not only the dignity of the British Empire we are defending, but our acres and our persons. That it is a contest between dissolute idleness and virtuous industry, as well as between nation and nation, and that the first has sworn to exterminate the second, or perish in the attempt?—Is it possible that your Grace can be a stranger to the only conditions on which the French will listen to peace?—Are you to be told, that they have resolved not to treat with any people who acknowledge a King or Nobility?—And have you the indecency, as well as meanness, to abet an execrable banditti in so flagrant an attack on the sovereignty and independence of your country?

It has been the insolent boast of even the most temperate Frenchmen, that “*Great Britain would soon become a province of France;*” and the decree of the Convention which indirectly prescribes to us the republican form of Government, seems to have been grafted on this impudent prognostic.—Good God! Great Britain



Britain a province to France!—Perish the thought, and with it those who would even connive at an humiliation no less injurious to the honour of their country, than it would prove fatal to her prosperity. The French have declared, “ *that they will not treat with us while “ Monarchy exists in England.*”—What is this but dictating the law, and usurping a power, which our pride, no less than our interests, calls upon us to repel? Would your Grace, better informed on the subject, venture to recommend such ignominious conditions to your country?—Would you submit to purchase peace, desirable as it is, on terms so dishonourable? Would you dare, as the price of that peace, recommend Parliament to dethrone the Sovereign \*, to whom you are bound by the sacred obligations of an oath, and whom it is your duty, as it is that of every individual in his dominions, to support?—Is your allegiance, my Lord, of such slight and flimsy texture, that it will break on

\* If there is any one part of our invaluable Constitution to which I feel a partiality, it is to the House of Commons; but democratic as I am, and as every Englishman ought to be, I would rather that the Monarchy, at this time, was strengthened than enfeebled.—I would rather that the Crown should acquire power than lose it, from a full conviction that whatever it loses the Commons will lose in equal proportion, and that if the *former* should be annihilated, the **LATTER** will not long survive it.

the flightest touch ? Or is it as flexible as that of the late Duke of Orleans, easy to stretch, and ready to accommodate itself either to the reasonable demands of your legitimate Prince, or to the wild and sanguinary projects of the Wat Tylers and Jack Cades of the day ? If it is supple, we know to what cause it is to be attributed ; but though we are disposed to pardon constitutional timidity, we are not disposed to excuse that hereditary compound of pride, meanness, and fraud, which, varying with the occasion, would insult us, cringe to us, and impose on us !—Your Grace mistakes the English character, and over-rates your dexterity very considerably indeed, when you imagine we are to be deceived into an opinion either of your talents or disposition to serve us. It is not, be assured, my Lord, in the assumed character of a patriot that you appear to advantage ; and it is a sorry compliment to our discernment, and and a much worse to our pride, to suppose we stand in need of your Grace, or of any other Peer, to espouse our cause, even if we had cause of complaint against the confidential servants of the Crown.—Are we for ever to be insulted with such officious and impertinent interference ?—Are we for ever destined to reprobate the evil, and deplore the calamity, of perpetually looking up to *great names* for protection and redress,

while

while we have the power to confer the one, and to administer the other?—Is there no resource left for the collected wisdom and spirit of the country, than to enlist under the banners of one or other of the different factions, which, speculating in politics, or religion, as either may happen to suit their purpose, traffic with the public credulity, and bartering vain and empty professions of patriotism, in exchange for offices of trust and emolument, revel in the plunder of their country, and solicit our confidence only to abuse it?

My Lord, be prudent, and take advice ; it is not the worse for being anonymous. Acquainted as we are, with the texture and complexion of your principles, we must arrive at the lowest state of degradation, before we can possibly descend to accept of assistance or advice from the man who has injured and insulted us.

If this should appear an enigma to your Grace, you will find the solution in your own breast.

The world has found it in your conduct.

If the season of delusion was not past, our experience would be a bar to your hopes, which, even the fertile resources of a mind like yours, would not be able to destroy. Besides, we have been too often duped by professions of patriotism, to trust to the promises of even less excep-



tionable characters: And your Grace will do well to remember, that with every possible hereditary claim to the aversion and contempt of the British nation, it has an account of a personal nature to settle with you, in which your desertion of the late Earl of Chatham, and your wanton, not to say audacious violation of the Constitution, in the case of the Middlesex Election, will certainly not be forgotten. Is it not singular, my Lord, that the same petulance, the same passion for rash and idle enterprise which distinguished your youth, should mark your descent to the grave? And, is it not extraordinary, that you should never take part in our public councils, without exposing the security of Government, or the honour of the nation? But it is perfectly in character, that the man who began by betraying his Sovereign, should finish by insulting him; in the former instance, you would have made your Royal Master the accomplice of your guilt; in the latter, it is the people whom you would seduce into a participation of your infamy, and render the instruments of their own destruction. In the first instance, it was the King whom you would have set at variance with his subjects.

In the second, it is the subject whom you would arm against the prince, but better instructed in our duties, we are as little disposed to

to borrow our loyalty from your Grace, as the King, we trust, is to reign by the maxims of the family from whom you are descended.

Happily, my Lord, the reciprocal obligations between the Throne and the people: the principle on which these obligations are founded, and the sentiment by which they are converted into affections are too well understood, and too generally acknowledged, to be injured by any arguments that your Grace can possibly advance. But, tho' your efforts have proved unsuccessful, the attempt was not less atrocious, and it would be difficult to account for a conduct no less weak than criminal, if we did not know from melancholy experience, the unhappy bias in your mind to pervert and misapply your talents and your time, and to act in every situation of public or of private life, in direct opposition to the best established, and most approved maxims, for our conduct in both. Under the extraordinary circumstances of the present times, when every foul and iniquitous artifice is employed to bring monarchy into contempt that ingenuity can devise, or profligacy avow; when with a dark and malignant design to subvert all our establishments, an insidious attack is made on the Throne, and Royalty represented to be at once useless, expensive, and disgraceful; it becomes the immediate duty, and, I trust, it will

will be the pride of every individual in the British Empire to support the Sovereign in the constitutional exercise of his Prerogative, and enable him to resist successfully and decidedly, every attempt that may be made to diminish his authority, or lessen the respect due to the important and elevated rank which he holds in society.

Such is the sentiment that animates, with very few exceptions, all ranks and descriptions of people in this country.—Such the line of conduct, my Lord, they have adopted, and mean to pursue, not so much from their fate, at this awful, this eventful moment, being involved in that of their Sovereign, as from motives of personal regard, and a wish, perhaps, to atone for those opinions entertained to his disadvantage, when your Grace, high in the confidence of your Royal Master, stood, like Iago, between the people and the object of their hopes, inspiring both with distrust of each other's intentions.—My Lord, we have not yet forgotten, nor are we disposed to pardon, the infamy of leaving the metropolis of the British Empire at the mercy of a lawless rabble, and preferring the disreputable amusements of Newmarket to the faithful discharge of your duty as first Minister. We still remember your mean and cowardly desertion of your Sovereign in the moment of danger,

ger, when his person and his family were exposed to the fury and licentiousness of a misguided rabble.—When the profligacy of your morals, contrasted with the unaffected piety of his Majesty, brought the sincerity of the latter into question, and the faithful discharge of the duties of religion and morality into disrepute.

These were no slight and common offences; they tended to influence the public opinion in the most serious and important concerns of life, and to give to the sincere and solemn practice of devotion the appearance of hypocrisy.

It was also at this period, my Lord, that the people were taught to annex the idea of liberty with the name of Wilkes, and, by a logical deduction worthy of their capacities, to associate the idea of tyranny with that of a King.—We do not owe it to any exertions of your Grace, that this distinction was not established in the minds of men, and carried to the same excess, and attended with the same terrible effects as in France.—Whenever such an opinion is adopted, and becomes general in this country, woe to the Monarchy and to all the sumptuous appendages of Royalty!—It is the clear evidence of this very obvious truth that renders your recent conduct in Parliament as inexplicable as your former councils were pernicious, and something more than an apology is due for having countenanced  
a measure



a measure, whose iniquity is not less conspicuous than its folly, and which you knew in your conscience at the time to have been absolutely impracticable—Not from any conviction that Ministers were determined to carry on the war, or that Parliament was resolved to support them in the vigorous prosecution of a contest which they could not have avoided, but from the absolute impossibility, of France being able to put an end to hostilities.—Her own safety, or at least the safety of those who have usurped the dominion of that country, requires a still farther and most enormous expence of blood \*.—It is an acknowledged truth, my Lord, that France could not accept of peace, were the combined powers disposed to offer it.

Indeed, there are strong reasons for suspecting, that this fact was even acknowledged by those who acted in direct opposition to their conviction, and whose motive for coming for-

\* It was one of the favourite dogmas of the Abbé Sieyès, from the very commencement of the Revolution, and which his disciples have since maintained, with a success proportioned to their execrable zeal, “ that the population of France must be diminished at least TWO MILLIONS.” The mode of effecting that diminution was also pointed out, and the assassinations and proscriptions which have ensued, sufficiently prove that the advice of the priest has not been neglected.

ward with motion for peace, was less to serve the cause of humanity than to force themselves into power.

The violated rights of men, and the interests and prosperity of the kingdom, will always afford abundant matter for declamation; they are the ready means to captivate the multitude, who judging of other men's sincerity by their own, are too apt to give credit for the good faith of professions whose object is delusion. It has ever been the practice of those who have aspired to a share in his Majesty's councils, to have recourse to this more than impudent, this dishonourable expedient, and (which is a strong reflection at once on our folly and credulity;) they have generally succeeded.—Men who are influenced by considerations of personal interest, and mean nothing more by serving their country than to serve themselves, will not be very delicate in their choice of means; and whether the Throne is taken by storm, or whether it is compelled to capitulate, their purpose is equally answered, and the nation is equally insulted.—The extent to which these arts have been practised in a neighbouring country, ought to serve as a lesson, not only to well-meaning men of warm tempers, the purity of whose motives will sometimes operate as a check on their enthusiasm, but to men of inordinate vanity and ambition,

E
bition,

bition, who call forth the dissolute and indigent, to enable them to accomplish their criminal designs.—Is it already become necessary, my Lord, with examples so numerous, so recent, and so strong, before us, to remind your Grace, that every man in France of both descriptions has fallen a victim to his guilt or folly.—Have we not beheld, under the different impressions of sorrow and of joy, of astonishment, anger, pity, and indignation, the various orders of Nobility, from Princes of the Blood down to the Noblesse of the Robe and Finance \*, swept off the stage in regular succession, as they came forward to take the lead, and direct that mass which they imagined could be moulded and fashioned to their purpose like wax? What are become of the Montmorencys, the Noailles, Liancourts, d'Aiguillons, and Lameths?—They are in exile—poor and obscure, and with scarce the means of subsistence!—What is become of Neckar, that busy quack in politics, literature, and finance—his own bubble, as well as of others, and who was compelled to fly from the unprovoked fury of the very mob that idolized him?—A fugitive, remembered only to be despised.—Where is the vain, the indiscreet, and

\* Lawyers, Bankers, and Farmers-General.



misguided La Fayette \* ?—He is in a dungeon—his fame, splendour, and authority, extinguished for ever !—Where are the Birons, the Broglios,

\* Although I am perfectly convinced that Parliament could not, with propriety, take cognizance of the arrest and detention of M. de la Fayette ; yet no doubt exists in my mind that the former was an atrocious act of tyranny, without example or excuse, and that the latter is as infamous and oppressive as it is impolitic and unjust. Feeling this conviction, and impressed with these sentiments, I honour the generosity of the man who made an ineffectual effort to rescue an unfortunate victim from disgraceful and unmerited confinement ; however a dastardly Noblesse, without dignity or virtue, may slander the man they would not dare to face ; with whatever rancour a lazy, profligate and lying priesthood, ignorant of their country and of the age they live in, may retail such slanders ; with whatever violence the Convention may pursue the memory of M. de la Fayette, I aver it as a fact, that Mr. Burke is the last man upon earth who should join in the clamour of this senseless, worthless rabble, against an unfortunate individual, who suffers for the same cause for which Hamden bled—THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY !

Mr. Burke had dared to pronounce M. de la Fayette guilty, and with all the vehemence of licentious eloquence, to brand him as a traitor :—But in what consists his guilt ? Who did he betray—What friends, what party, has he perfidiously deserted—In what instance has he proved himself an apostate ? Surely there is nothing criminal in endeavouring to crush despotism—Neither was it treasonable to endeavour to break the fetters which held his degraded countrymen in bondage, and restore them to the rank of manhood in so-

lios, Cuffines, and Baillys?—They are under ground, my Lord :—their headless trunks still bleeding, bear rueful testimony of the danger of  
 seducing

ciety—If he failed in the attempt, if less versed in the doctrines of revolution than his vindictive adversary, he fell in the attempt, it was his misfortune not his crime ! but allowing him to have been criminal, does the loss of fortune, of liberty, and of all the endearing comforts of life, weigh nothing in the opposite scale?—Will his being immured in a dungeon, excluded from the light of Heaven, torn from his friends, and uninformed of the sad destiny of his virtuous, hapless family, surrounded by assassins, and pining in grief and solitude, count for nothing?—Is it no atonement for his vices or his errors, that he is exposed to suffer still greater, and, if possible, more excruciating torments from the unrelenting malice of the unprincipled and dignified jailor who holds him in bondage?—Can the *mild* and *beneficent* temper of Mr. Burke discover no expiation for past offences under the pressure of such agonizing distress?—What purity, what rectitude of mind; what tenderness of heart must that man possess, and what ideas of criminal jurisprudence must he have formed, who, in his pretended zeal for national justice, in his extreme ardour for severe and exemplary punishment, can count such rigorous, such heavy amercements for nothing?—To what tension are the faculties of that man capable, who refining on cruelty, denies that these enumerated penalties entitle the hapless victim to a mitigation of his sufferings?

Of what texture must his heart be, who, unprovoked by any personal wrong, or uninfluenced by considerations of public utility, could wantonly add, by invective and falsehoods, to the afflictions of a man, whose existence, in the very prime of life, is mouldering to ruin, within a loathsome, damp, and dreary dungeon?

How

seducing from the sober paths of industry a senseless multitude, incapable of directing itself even for its own advantage. But were there even no danger

How painful must it have been for a British House of Commons to listen to the foul and malevolent harangues of a man, who having spanielled through life at the heels of nobility, is now become a pandar to authority, an instrument of oppression, a vehicle of slander to an itinerant dissolute priesthood, a kind of jackall to a beggarly crew of French Bishops and Nobles, running about with them from house to house, and from door to door, with all the fury of a Bedlamite, as if his mind was as distempered as his heart appears callous and insensible to the claims of benevolence.—We are no strangers to the Gentleman's partiality for the Church of Rome, and can trace in the intemperance of his zeal for its vile and contemptible clergy, an anxiety to return to the track from which interest and convenience may possibly have seduced him in early life. Nor are we uninformed of the accommodating spirit of a religion that still traffics in indulgences, and which has neither forgotten the craft, nor relinquished the authority it possessed in the 14th century.

We know that it occasionally admits the most faithful of its flock to wander from the fold, with absolution in advance, lest an accident should happen before the pious vagrant, or rather the licensed apostate, can get back.—Whether Mr. Burke is in this predicament; whether he is out upon bail on a promise to return before the last day of term, or whether he is come back, and obtained a *billet de confession* (a certificate) from the Bishop of St. Pol de Léon, it is needless to enquire; all I pretend to assert is, that from the whole of his conduct, it is evident the principles of the Jesuits have survived the abolition of their order.

For

danger, is there not cruelty in calling from honest, useful labour, so many valuable citizens, and converting them into as many unprincipled vagabonds?

For this man to come forward with a proud boast of his loyalty—with a new-fangled zeal for the family on the throne, while he reprobates the men, and condemns the means that led to their advancement, is as impudent as it is contrary to his former conduct and declarations in Parliament.

Of what complexion, and of what nature is that loyalty, which condemns M. de la Fayette, and approves of Mr. Washington? In what consists the difference in the conduct and situation of these Gentlemen at the different epochs of 1774 and 1789? The latter was called by the unanimous voice of his countrymen, to take the command of a mob that had not acquired the honourable distinction of an army, and whose object was to resist the execution of laws deemed vexatious, and acknowledged to be contrary to the known constitutional rights of Englishmen.—The former was also invited by a decided majority of his countrymen to rescue from the French King a power which had been frequently abused, and which, by being undefined, was incompatible with the principles on which ALL GOVERNMENTS ought to be established.—The views and appointments of both these Generals were precisely the same; and hostile as Mr. Burke has lately become to reform and to revolutions, we know that he once countenanced insurrection, and gloried in the rebellion that severed his country from America.—We know that he wept at the victories of his country, and at the defeats of her enemies.—With what decency then can he give his curses to La Fayette and his benediction to Washington? With what claim to credit or respect can he abuse men who are, according to his former doctrines, only culpable because they were unfortunate?



gabonds? Can your Grace reflect on the sad catastrophe of the amiable, the virtuous Clermont de Tonnere, and not shed a tear of pity on his unhallowed

Is it Mr. Burke who triumphed at the victories, and wept at the defeats of Washington, that arraigns the loyalty of M. de la Fayette, and condemns him for erecting the standard of revolt?

Is it Mr. Burke who carried on a correspondence with Dr. Franklin at Paris, during the whole period of our disgraceful contest with America, and who supported with all the fervour of enthusiasm the rebellion, as it was called, that now finds the conduct of M. de la Fayette criminal?—Is the suspicious evidence of men who deserted their acres on the first alarm, and who abjectly sigh for that tyranny which they alternately felt and exercised, to be received in preference to facts? And is it with such beings that Mr. Burke, a Member of the British Parliament, descends to associate, and partaking of their baseness, would wrest from an absent and distressed individual, defenceless and forlorn, all that the savage ferocity of a vindictive tyrant has left him—man's last and dearest refuge—HOPE!—Is it Mr. Burke that has joined a cowardly race of miscreants to assassinate the character of a man whom the stoutest of them would tremble to encounter, and shrink into nothing at the sight of? Is it Mr. Burke that offers himself as a sample of loyalty, and arrogates the right of prescribing to us rules of allegiance?—Is it Mr. Burke, in whom this spring-tide of loyalty flows in such profusion, who, callous to every sentiment of duty, of humanity, and of generosity, insulted fallen Majesty in that awful and distressing moment of universal grief and despondency, when every face was marked with affliction and gloom? Is this the apostle of religion, who, when every heart



hallowed grave?—Can you open the enormous volume of modern martyrs, and not tremble for your own fate, in following even the example of  
of

heart but his own was dissolved in sorrow, and every cheek bedewed with tears, pronouncing the illness of his Sovereign to be the well merited vengeance of Heaven \*, rejoiced at a calamity which threatened his country with the greatest of all misfortunes? Has this man the effrontery to prate publicly of duty and affection for Kings?

Is it Mr. Burke that espoused the cause, and vindicated the honour of his deputy (Powel) who, ashamed of a panegyrick he did not deserve, put a period to his existence, and gave the lie to the fulsome eulogiums of his parasite, that has the assurance to make a parade of his virtues, and to talk of submission to the laws, reverence for the magistrates, and loyalty to the Throne?—The Throne that he has vilified, and ridiculed!

The crow contents itself with carrion, and battens on the moor; but this man, a glutton and an epicure, flies at higher game, and sets repletion at defiance; it is not the common, ordinary food of birds or beasts of prey that suits him—his voracious and insatiate appetite must gormandize on dainties: and Kings, Ministers, Admirals, Generals, and Nabobs, have all fallen in their turn under the venomous gripe of his rude and savage claws.

The brutal Philippic of Mr. Burke against M. de le Fayette, on the 17th inst. in the House of Commons, does not require to be contrasted with the mildness, equity, and liberality of Mr. Pitt, to render its malignity more evident.—It has been the misfortune of the former Gentleman, not only to have courted and espoused error through life, but to have

\* Vide the Parliamentary Debates on the Regency.

of the most temperate and just among them? The first name that occurs, in contemplating the convulsed, and disastrous state of France, is that

have persisted in it with a degree of obstinacy and acrimony, ill suited to the situation to which his talents have raised him, and to that respect which he owes to himself and to others.—It has also been his misfortune to have kept bad company, not from necessity but choice, and on occasions where we are led to suspect that his principles are as much to be blamed as his taste. From the maxims he has lately advanced, and the virulence which marks his language wherever he fatigues debate, it is evident that the Gentleman has become the echo of a class of Frenchmen, who, though mendicants and exiles, are no less reprehensible than the Jacobins, whom he anathematizes with more than ecclesiastical rancour.

I am as little disposed to think favourably of the latter as Mr. Burke, but if I were called upon to decide between these two descriptions of people, I should be much puzzled to know to which of them the preference ought to be given.—It is really hard to decide which is the more noxious animal of the two, the MONKEY or the TYGER—I certainly would take neither of them to my arms.—It is not very creditable to this Gentleman, that he should become the mouth-piece of a despicable herd of fugitives, to the full as void of principle as those whom he reprobates; and it may not be amiss to remind him, that it is not by such language and such doctrines, as those to which he has accustomed himself of late, that the English Government is to be supported.—Its best friends; men who have been uniformly and passionately attached to the Constitution in all the gusts and tempests of faction, are not to be BULLIED into loyalty by the impudent menaces of an individual not very respectable or consistent,

F

and

that of Orleans :—He had recourse to the dangerous expedient of inviting the sons and daughters of vice and wretchedness from their  
caves

and who has run up and down the notes of the political gamut, in all its various keys, until even discord sickened at the sound ! Neither is it easy to seduce them to confide in the assertions of a man who receives his creed implicitly from the vagabond herd of ecclesiastical mountebanks, who are suffered to eat the bread of idleness through the mistaken bounty of this country, and “ *who encumber the land they ought to fertilize.*”

I am vexed at the forward, not to say impudent zeal of Mr. Burke—a zeal too recent to be sincere, and too officious to serve the cause to which he pretends such violent attachment.—I am persuaded it would be of much use to Government, if this Gentleman could be prevented from scribbling or prating.—His imagination, run wild, requires to be tempered by discretion ; and he appears, by his late unmanly abuse of a distressed and fallen object, to be as deficient in humanity as he is in judgment.

Magnificent sentences from such men may flatter the prejudices of those who resemble them, and tickle the ears of those who prefer sound to sense, and declamation to truth ; but the Government that looks up to such beings for support, miserably deceives itself, and manifests a wish, rather to sustain itself by fraud or violence than by equity and reason. We know that the British Government disdains such aid ; that it holds in abhorrence such means ; it is therefore to undeceive those who, uninformed of the purity of the present Administration, may be led to consider Mr. Burke as the interpreter of their sentiments, and attribute the nonsense, malignancy, and reveries of an intemperate, and sometimes  
insane

caves and lurking places ; and that the passions of these mis-shapen knaves, naturally violent when let loose from restraint, might be inflamed to

insane individual, to an Administration to whom this country has the most serious obligations.—The country, well apprized of the danger with which the Constitution has been menaced, is firmly resolved to support Government with all its force ; and with such a support, Ministers can have nothing to hope, and surely they have nothing to fear, from the applause or censure of a man who has done little else than vibrate between extravagance of every kind, and who has proved himself to be, by the language he holds, and the principles he avows, much better qualified for a Satrap in Persia, than the citizen of a free country.

A torrent of invective, as illiberal as it was copious and unprovoked, was not sufficient to satisfy the spleen and savage animosity of this Gentleman.—Not content with departing from the decorum of parliamentary debate, and wandering into a loose, desultory discourse, irrelative to the question, and certainly not very humane, he advanced charges unsupported by facts \*, and threw out insinuations to which the uniform conduct of M. de la Fayette, presents a direct and complete refutation.—As a proof of the injustice offered to this forlorn victim of inexorable tyranny, whose lamentable condition affords matter of indecent merriment to the despicable Aristocracy of his own country, and of malignant triumph to Mr. Burke and his no less despicable associates in this. I have given extracts from two letters, dated Paris, the 23d February, 1791, written by Mr. Miles, and addressed, one of them to Sir Edward Newenham, in Dublin, and the other to Henry James Pye, Esq. at Testwood Lodge. Hants.—It is with the permission of these Gentlemen that

F 2

they

\* Vide the Exculpation of M. de la Fayette at the end.



to the highest pitch, and qualified for deeds of darkness, the press was called in to flatter their power, and to drive them furious. No magic could

they are published; and as the writer of them is preparing, his interesting correspondence, during his residence on the continent, for the press, there is no doubt but the character of an unfortunate individual will soon be vindicated by an authority much more respectable for its veracity than those of his bitter and vindictive accuser.

The extracts are as follow; and the candid are left to judge whether M. de la Fayette acted with that perfidy and hostility towards the Royal Family with which Mr. Burke has reproached him, not with the candour, or temperance of a Gentleman, but with the violence of a ruffian!

To Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM.

Paris, 23 Feb. 1791.

*"An immense crowd, preceded by the poissards, went last night to the Luxembourg, in consequence of a report that Monsieur was preparing to depart.—A deputation only was admitted; these he assured that, "he never had a thought to separate himself "from his country and his brother; and he gave his word "of honour that he would never forsake the King."— Upon which one of the women demanded, "Mais si le Roi s'en "va?" To which he answered—"Qui est ce qui est si indigne de me faire une pareille question?" The deputation then insisted on seeing his wife.—He said she was at her toilette. No matter, they replied—they must and would see her, and finally Madame appeared.—A well dressed man came afterwards to the Tuilleries, and desired to see Monf. de la Fayette.—He was told that he was with the King.—He persisted on seeing him, and required he should be sent for.—La Fayette came, attended by two officers of the Municipality.—The man insisted on speaking to him alone and*



could afterwards charm these Calibans to rest; and yet, my Lord, incredible as it will appear to future ages, we have our Trinculos and Stephanos,

and in private.—He said that he had no secrets from these gentlemen, whose duty it was to be present; upon which this person informed your friend that “Monsieur was to leave Paris that night, escorted by 1500 cavaliers, who were at the Luxembourg and its environs.”—The answer of La Fayette does him honour.—“Je vous donne ma parole d’honneur que si Monsieur pars, je l’arrêterai & puisque les nouvelles que vous venez de me donner sont très importantes, je vous arrête jusque ce que vous ayiez verifié le fait.”

I really trembled for La Fayette when he pronounced the order for seizing this man; I was at his elbow, and expected to see the informer changed into an assassin—

The danger to which La Fayette is exposed is incredible, and as he flies with alacrity on the least alarm to the protection of his imprisoned Sovereign, and as his vigilance is every where given in aid of a police enervated, disjointed, and broken, he has incurred the suspicion of being attached to the Court, and inimical to the people. He has great coolness as well as great firmness of mind, and great intrepidity, but his resources are not equal to his courage; and as he is pursued with equal fury by those who wish to supplant him in his command, and by those who are resolved to exterminate the Royal Family, his very loyalty will accomplish his destruction. Believe me, my dear Newenham, that he will either fall by some ignoble hand, or be driven into exile; and this prediction of mine I have often repeated to him.”

To HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq.

Paris, 23 Feb. 1791.

“Unpleasant reports are in circulation, and which, if they obtain credit, must produce much mischief and bloodshed. It is said  
that

phanos, impatient to pay court to the monster, and possess the Isle.

The Duke of Orleans, acting from the double motives of pique, and lust of power, felt neither

*that the King and Dauphin, with the Queen, were to follow Monsieur, whom I informed you in my last was preparing to get away privately.—It is also said that 37,000 assassins, distributed in Paris, and armed with stilettos imported from Turin, some of which have been shewn to me, were to massacre the patriots in the metropolis, while the Emperor invaded France on the side of Brabant with a powerful army, and the Aristocracy rose in the Provinces.—Here is a mine, my dear Sir, sufficient to blow up the Thuilleries in an instant; in consequence of which, the Luxembourg, which is the residence of Monsieur, was invested by the mob before eight o'clock last night, and he was conducted in disgraceful triumph to the Chateau of his hapless brother, followed and menaced by the rabble.—It was with extreme difficulty that the people were restrained from violence.*

*“ Cannon were placed before the entrance of the Thuilleries; the matches were lighted, and the gunners had directions to fire on the first alarm.*

*“ The mob becoming clamorous, insisted on extirpating every vestige of Royalty, and but for the undaunted and decided conduct of La Fayette, would have ascended to the apartments of the King and Queen, in which case I am convinced that neither of them would have beheld the “morrow’s dawn.”—It was the firm manner in which La Fayette acted that imposed on the multitude, and obtained a respite for the lives of the King and Queen, whom you may be assured will certainly perish in some of these tumults.—I was present at this distressing scene, and was astonished to find the King more collected and less alarmed than the Mayor. I descended from the royal apartments, and mixing with the mob, perceived*

ther shame nor remorse at associating with men of the lowest rank and most abandoned characters.—In the commencement of his political career,

*ceived several faces among them whom I remember to have seen on better occasions, and in better places.*

*“ My indignation provoked me to deliver my sentiments to the misguided populace with the same unreserved freedom as I have transmitted them to you, for which my friends here tax me with indiscretion—mais c'était plus fort que moi.—I cannot bear that either insult or oppression should be offered to others any more than to myself; and on these occasions, rank and extravagant as the Quixotism may appear to you, I always feel disposed to make a common cause with the wretched, and vindicate their rights.”*

Of what nature is the humanity of Mr. Burke, that mocked the agonizing pangs of his country in the hour of alarm for its beloved Sovereign, and that now weeps so abundantly over an outcast crew of mitred hypocrites, whose practical atheism has been infinitely more injurious to morals and religion, than all the wild and incoherent speculations of Voltaire and Rousseau?

What are we to call this new-fangled zeal for Majesty which has lately blazed forth with such uncommon violence in Mr. Burke? What are those new doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance which he has the effrontery to bel-  
low in our ears, as the measure of our duty, and the criterion of our affections? Is it from this man that we are to learn our obligations to the King and to his Government? From the man whose whole life almost has been marked by a steady, uninterrupted, and sometimes ferocious opposition to the  
Crown?

reer, it was Orleans, Mirabeau, Barnave, and Co. but as the rabble, invited by the profusion of their Chief, accumulated and acquired force, they

Crown? From the man whose sudden and extraordinary conversion was less a matter of surprize to the world, who knew him *little*, than to his associates, who thought they knew him *well*?—Is it this man, who “*stiff in opinion, ever in the wrong*,” that bends his proud knee to offended Majesty, and whose mind, become pliant, yields to the authority it spurned? Is it Mr. Burke who has treated royalty like a very drab, that pretends to a purer loyalty than the rest of the nation, and that would teach us what a British subject owes to a British Sovereign? Is it to his warehouse that we are to resort in future, not for fair and rational allegiance, such as the laws and Constitution prescribe and authorize, but for that unqualified submission to undefined power which has been prohibited, decried, and reprobated as dangerous and infamous ever since the year 1688, and which this Jesuit in politics, as well as in religion, would smuggle back into the country, and deal out to us in portions sufficient to disgust and provoke revolt in the veriest slave under the ancient Gabel laws in France?—Is it this camelion that receives its hue from the transitory influence of passing objects, that pretends to bestow on others a permanent and never-fading complexion? Away with such impertinence; and attached as we are to our Sovereign from gratitude and affection; bound as we are by duty and by interest to support the laws and Constitution of our country, let us reject the insolent mandates of this high priest—who arrogates to himself the right of dictating to us in matters of Government, and who pretends to be the only loyal subject within his Majesty’s dominions.—Let us leave this sovereign pontiff of a new description to lament



they claimed a share in the profitable business, of revolutions, and presently engrossed the whole trade to themselves; they even found themselves in a condition to establish similar factories in other countries, and had the address to engage men of rank and fortune, but of little sense, and less discretion, in the hazardous enterprise of oversetting States and Empires.—Before this final change took place, M. Orleans found himself compelled to turn out his old, and receive new partners.—The firm was afterwards changed to Orleans, Danton, Robespierre, Barrere, and Marat.—But the first name soon gave place to the latter; and as these have since perished, one by the guillotine, and the other by a poignard, the triumvirate that remains have continued for the moment to monopolize the entire trade.—How long they will be allowed to carry it on belongs to pro-

ment that he cannot introduce in this happy country, Bastiles, Lettres de Cachet, and all the other disgraceful implements of Despotism.

Let us leave him to console the wretched *congregation* of *barefooted Carmelites* whom he has assembled at Beconsfield, and whom he feeds with the vain hope of restoring to the land from which they have been deservedly driven: It is time to leave him to his reflections, with this admonition, however, that if he trespasses again on the good sense of the nation, I will pursue him until he turns, like the enraged viper, on himself, and expires by his own poison.



phesy to foretell, and to time to reveal.—My business is merely to submit these facts to your consideration, and to enquire what right your grace has to expect better treatment than those who have gone before you in the dangerous experiment of disturbing the public mind, and opposing the measures of Government?—I have no doubt but the pennyless cobbler in Piccadilly, who having no longer any boots or shews to vamp, has undertaken to new vamp the State, would have no objections to your name standing first in the partnership. But let the gentleman traffic on the credit of your name, and call for supplies from your pocket, and how long do you think your Grace will be allowed the distinction, or enjoy the *prisaige on wines* \* ?

Believe me, my Lord, it would soon be Hardy and Grafton, or rather, Hardy and Fitzroy, perhaps Palmer†, not only to remind you of your origin, but in hatred to the word King in any language; and thus degraded and bap-

\* Part of his income. Vide the grant of Charles II.

† Charles the Second, forgetting that nobility without virtue is exalted infamy, created this woman Duchess of Cleveland; and according to the historian, she was “*prodigal, rapacious, dissolute, violent, and revengeful.*”

Hume's History, vol. vii. page 392.

sized, your Grace would be compelled to chaunt in unison with your companion—

“ We’ll new vamp the State,

“ The Church we’ll translate,

“ Old shoes are no more worth their mending.”

Whether your Grace has a taste or voice for singing, I know not, but I can easily believe that such airs, and in such company, would not vibrate sweet music to your ear.—Under such distressing circumstances, humbled, ruined, and stung with remorse, it is possible you might be provoked, but from a better motive, to follow the example of the Duke of Orleans, and demand, at some section or municipality, another name, in the poor and wretched hope that your former rank and splendor would be forgotten in the change.—What was the effect of a mean and abject servility in the most infamous of the Bourbons, would, I am willing to believe, be the result of pride in your Grace, to hide your shame; but contrition would then be too late. Giving your Grace, however, credit for the ostensible motives of your conduct, on what ground, permit us to enquire, of fair and reasonable hope could you recommend his Majesty to propose overtures of peace, without being previously assured that they would be accepted, or at least attended to by the enemy?—Are you certain

that a cessation of hostilities would be a measure of policy, on the part of France, at this moment—or that it is even practicable?—Do you know for certain, my Lord, that it would be as desirable an object to the French Convention, without any preparatory steps to reconcile men's minds to such an event, as it unquestionably would be under certain conditions to this country? Are there no other difficulties in the way of peace, but those which have been attributed with such little decency to the passions and interests of a few individuals?—“*Would there be no danger in France receiving suddenly into her bosom an enormous population, distributed into fifteen armies, and accustomed to every species of dissolute licentiousness?*”—What, in the name of that humanity which you profess, would be the conduct and pursuits of a disbanded multitude, permitted to run riot in the very center of that distracted country, in which the existing laws are too weak to afford protection to those who actually inhabit it?

These circumstances should have been well considered, before your Grace took share in a debate, the result of which is so little likely to answer either the avowed or secret purpose of the man who proposed and commenced it.—I have hitherto addressed your Grace, in the first person plural; from a conviction, that in  
delivering

delivering my sentiments, I was delivering those of my country; but as I shall have occasion to refer to papers and to letters within my own knowledge, and some of which are in my possession; as it will be necessary to quote private authorities, and which for very obvious reasons, must remain anonymous; I shall hereafter speak immediately from myself, and take my chance for my correspondence and assertions obtaining that credit, which I know to be due to them.—I do not venture on rash and ill-founded assertions—I speak from authority, from clear and indisputable testimony, from the evidence of men well qualified to pronounce, and certainly much better informed, my Lord, than either of us of the temper of their country, and of its disposition and capacity for peace—Of men, who, convinced that wars engender and multiply crimes, are as anxious for peace as your Grace, and who would cheerfully co-operate in terminating a contest, which only adds to the afflicting catalogue of human wretchedness.

My channels of information are to the full as authentic, and as respectable as those of your Noble Colleague, without my having recourse to the dangerous expedient of a clandestine correspondence with the *enemies* of my country, or to the dishonourable means of preserving it, by  
commu.

communications which impeach the loyalty of the citizen.—It is on the credit of the authority to which I allude, that I inform your Grace, France is not in a situation even to listen to overtures of peace, much less to propose them ; and that no doubt of her deplorable condition should remain, I subjoin the copy of a letter \*, dated the 7th ultimo, which will prove the

\* “ Je pense comme vous, que la France peut faire les  
 “ premières ouvertures sans se degrader, parceque le puncti-  
 “ lio diplomatique très convenables aux Ministres des Rois,  
 “ ne convient plus guère à une nation, dont la philosophie  
 “ (quoiqu’on en dise) a commencé & achevera la regenera-  
 “ tion, & parceque cette nation a développé une energie  
 “ sans exemple dans les fastes de l’histoire—Mais je dois vous  
 “ faire part des difficultés que je prevois.

“ Je connois votre philanthropie, & j’ai du regret que les  
 “ circonstances m’otent tout espoir de voir de sitôt, une fin  
 “ à la guerre.—Ne pensez donc plus à present à la paix.

“ Si c’est une paix partielle l’Angleterre n’y consentiroit  
 “ pas ; si c’est une paix generale, je doute si la France y con-  
 “ sentiroit—Elle est devenue un camp, & les Français se sont  
 “ faits tous foldats.

“ Seroit-il donc prudent de rappeler brusquement dans ses  
 “ foyers cette masse enorme repartie en quinze armées ? Ne  
 “ ferait-il pas à craindre que cette rupture violente des gouts,  
 “ de la licence, &c. militaires, ne nous replongeât dans des  
 “ nouveaux troubles ? et la politique ne conseillera-t-elle pas  
 “ de conserver un aliment étranger à l’inquiétude d’esprit, &  
 “ à la surabondance d’activité qu’une guerre de cette nature  
 “ a dû necessairement développer ? Je vous ai parlé dan



the very little prospect there is of putting an end to the complicated miseries which desolate Europe, and menace the world with a prolongation of a war, disastrous beyond doubt to all the parties concerned, but much less so to this country than to the powers on the continent, and in which Ministers, with every disposition to terminate it that policy or humanity can suggest, must persevere until France is in a situation, we will not say to propose peace, but to accept it, without the risque of plunging herself into fresh, and greater difficulties, than those under which she at present labours.

The letter from which the annexed extract is taken, was written by one of the most intelligent, and best informed men in France. By the man, my Lord, who, whenever the season of negotiation arrives, will most probably be charged with the pleasing and important mission, to the British court. To an excellent understanding, he unites an integrity, that is incorruptible; and if the rest of his countrymen, possessed his virtues, and his talents, France would have escaped the miseries, to which she has been a prey, ever since her weak and perfidious Monarch, preferred holding the sceptre

“ tout ceci, mon cher ami, à cœur ouvert, & je laisse à  
 “ votre prudence, & à votre amitié, la détermination de l’u-  
 “ sage que vous en pouvez faire.”

by

by corruption, and secret intrigue, to the magnanimity of resigning, or defending it like a man. The danger which my correspondent apprehends would arise from the sudden and abrupt dissolution of the armies of the Republic, is far from being chimerical. The mischiefs which he supposes would ensue, from the change of habits, passions, and military license, to that decency, order, and submission, compatible with the peace of civil society, are experienced to a certain degree in this country at the close of every war. It is not in an instant, that the morals and manners of mankind are to be changed, and we have learnt from your Grace, that some dispositions *can never* be corrected. If robberies and murders, are more frequent in England whenever her military establishments are reduced; and riot and disorder prevail until the disbanded troops fall insensibly under the dominion of the magistrate; how much more has France to fear, from the license and violence, of six hundred thousand ruffians, let loose in a country, where no other right is acknowledged, but the right of the strongest, and in which the civil part of the community are not in a condition, to resist any claims, which the military may urge, or to punish any insults which an unbridled soldiery may offer? Under circumstances no less imperious, than they are distressing,

distressing, it is evident, that France could not accept of peace were it offered to her; and, as the dilemma into which she has precipitated herself cannot be a secret, either to your Grace, or to the Marquis of Lansdown, we are authorised to question the purity of your motives, for proposing a measure impracticable in its execution, and, which, if it had been attempted, would ultimately have deprived this country of her allies, and Holland, perhaps, of her independence: For what security could possibly be given, and (judging of the former by the past) what reason have we to suppose, that the Austrian Netherlands, and the seven United Provinces, would not be over-run, the instant the Combined Powers laid down their arms?

With the certainty, almost, of such an event taking place, whenever every check and restraint on France shall be removed, what would the Minister deserve, who would counsel the King to a step of such imminent risque; and what claim can those have to the confidence of the nation, who would engage Parliament to address the throne, for a purpose, which, if granted, would extend the evils, and prolong the calamities they affect to deplore? Shame upon a conduct, so scandalous and corrupt. It has not even the plea of ignorance to urge in excuse.

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Neither

Neither is it the hasty and intemperate decision of a benevolent mind, warm in its pursuits and attachments, and viewing peace in the abstract as a superlative good, passes over with the rapidity of thought, and the ardour of passion, all the various combination and relations, by which it becomes either a mischief, or a blessing to society.

I do not know, that there is any thing perverse in my understanding, or imperfect in my conception of things. I am sure there is nothing servile in my disposition, and, that I am not of a temper, to support the measures of any man, or set of men, without the fullest conviction of their justice and expediency. But, to talk of peace to a nation, which, if it was disposed to hear it, is not in a condition to receive it, and dares not accept it, is the extreme of folly, or something worse, and can have no other object in view. but to impress the people in this country, with an idea, as pernicious, as it is ill founded; that the war is not only an aggression on our part, but wantonly continued against men "*cordially disposed to treat for peace, if the British cabinet was not pledged to restore the ancient despotism in France; as some pains,*" and an infinite degree of art have been employed, to render these opinions general, it may not be improper to



to examine their relation with the fact, and leave those whom it was intended to deceive, to draw their conclusion. It has been already stated, in a late publication,\* that the war was unavoidable, and a person (*qui est pour beaucoup dans la revolution*) has had the candour to own, that it was an aggression, not on the part of England, as Mr. Francis had the impertinence to assert in the House of Commons, on the 6th instant; but on that of the Executive Council, whom it is acknowledged, “*could only have been withheld from a declaration of hostilities, by a positive assurance, that no interruption would be given by this country, to the prosecution of the war against the Emperor; for as to the Court of Berlin, the Convention, acquainted as it was, with its perfidy and venality; made no scruple to declare, that the King of Prussia, who had received the Dutch, Brabantons, and Liegeois, neither excited uneasiness nor alarm, as they could always in case of necessity, purchase the man who was ready to sell himself to the highest bidder.*” It is not my business to enquire what degree of affinity this censure has to truth; I shall only observe, that the best answer which his Prussian Majesty can give to a ca-

\* Vide, “*the conduct of France towards Great Britain examined, with an Appendix and Notes, by Mr. Miles.*” Printed for G. Nicol, Pall-Mall.



lummy so atrocious, is a faithful discharge of his engagements with other powers. In return for this expected neutrality on the part of Great Britain, a neutrality no less dishonourable in itself, than it would have been dangerous in its consequences, a faint promise was given, not to attack the United Provinces, and that we might judge at once, of the truth and consistency of the French Executive Council, the navigation of the Scheldt, which involved in it the ruin of Amsterdam, was declared to be free. The conventional army was also in possession of Liege, Brabant, and Flanders, while a banditti, calling themselves the States of Holland, were collecting a force on the Dutch frontiers, composed of the outcasts of all nations, by whom Maestricht was to be summoned, and in case of refusal, France, in the assumed character of an *Ally*, was to have been invited to reduce it.

The milder mode of stratagem, was, however preferred; a passage was requested in form, for the troops of the French Republic, and as a proof of the *pacific temper* with which the demand was made, and of the *good faith* with which the conditions would have been kept: Preparations were made for bombarding the town into a compliance, the instant permission was denied.

Such

Such instances of an *amicable* disposition, very frequently occurred, and my correspondent has very candidly confessed, “*que les hostilités sourdes et cachées contre L'Angleterre n'étaient pas moins actives et réelles qu'une provocation ouverte.*”

I will not remind your Grace of the efforts of the French Emissaries to excite insurrections in the kingdom, nor of the several decrees of the National Convention, which, anticipating these insurrections, offered succour and fraternity to those, who would erect the standard of revolt, against monarchy and nobility.

These facts are of such general notoriety, and so fully established, that it would be impertinent to repeat them. My object is merely to convince you, that, as the aggression was not on the part of Great Britain, and as France in her present lamentable situation, and under the pressure of multiplied embarrassments, can neither offer nor accept of peace, the motion of Lord Lansdowne was premature, and more likely to produce mischief than good, by misleading the public mind in both nations. Well disposed, but half informed men in this country, would naturally suppose peace to be within the easy reach of ministers, when a motion to that effect was made in Parliament by a peer, supposed to have the best intelligence of any man in Europe, and who has filled the highest department in  
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the state. The same error, but to a much greater extent, was no less likely to prevail in France, from the partizans of the noble Lord having endeavoured to promulgate an opinion in *that* country, that “ *he possesses the entire confidence of the people in this, and that on the question in favour of an immediate peace, his Lordship and the bulk of the English nation, have but one opinion.*” In order the more effectually to bring the Parliament and Ministers into discredit in France, every expedient has been tried to degrade the one, and to excite a clamour against the other, with a view, that whenever the season of negotiation arrives, the “ *dismissal of the latter should be insisted upon as preliminary to all treaty.*”\*

I will

\* The private letters from this country, to certain people in Paris, dated last December, announced, that “ *the Minister deferred meeting of Parliament, until he had secured a majority disposed to comply with whatever was prescribed to them.*” An attempt has also been made to seduce the French into an engagement, “ *not to treat for peace with Mr. Pitt,*” as if the interests of a great nation were to be interrupted by an attention to *names*, instead of *things*. I felt some degree of mortification, in reading the letter which related these dishonourable proceedings, and in publishing the extract, I indulge the hope, that in the course of circulation, it may possibly come round, to the party with whom it originated, and shame them out of a conduct, no less derogatory to the character of an Englishman, than it is pitiful and indecent. The letter  
which

I will not comment on such unfair practices, but the pride of the nation is concerned in vindicating the just prerogatives of the British crown,

which I received, is dated the 27th ult. and while it exposes the unfair conduct of an opposition, drawn off, as it were, to the Lees, it proves that the sad remnant of what was once respectable, enjoy as little credit in France, as in England; and that the National Convention knows precisely to what extent these gentlemen are entitled to its esteem and confidence.

“ Ne vous trompez pas mon cher ami, nous recevons de tems en tems des details assez exactes de l'Angleterre, et voici ce qu'on nous en a mandé il y a à peu près un mois.” “ *On a marché de prorogation en prorogation, car il faut plus que jamais que Mr. Pitt soit sûr de son fait, avant de convoquer le Parlement; une complaisante majorité va donc faire tout ce qu'on lui prescrira. Nous ne sommes pas fâchés d'apprendre que des reproches se levent en France de toutes parts contre notre Ministère; nous voyons avec plaisir que si l'on venu la paix l'idée seule de traiter avec Mr. Pitt fera tout echouer, consequemment le parti qui vous est dévoué succédera au Ministère.*”

“ N'est-ce pas assez plaisant que tandis que votre Parlement et votre Ministère nous traitent de regicides, de Carmagnoles, et de *sans culottes*, l'autre parti nous temoigne de la consideration et de l'amitié, mais grâce à nos malheurs, nous connaissons votre parti de l'opposition aussi bien que votre Ministère, et nous avons à peu près autant de confiance pour l'un que pour l'autre.”

Here is a discovery of foul play, which, considering the hazard with which it was attended, proves that the RISQUE was infinitely greater than the STAKE. That every effort, and every art which men, versed in all the chicanery of political intrigue can devise, should be employed to discredit Ministers in



crown, and resisting every attempt that may be made by any foreign power, to dictate to an English sovereign, to what persons he shall confide the administration of his affairs.

As to the latter opinion, which has been propagated with so much industry, "*That it is the intention of the combined powers to restore the ancient Government in France,*" it cannot deserve any notice, until there is sufficient evidence of the fact,

in this country, in order to supplant them, may be easily imagined; but that faction should attempt to raise a clamour against Mr. Pitt in France, with a view to indispose that country against having any communication with him, at the very moment that they were pressing him to make offers, which they suspected would be spurned from motives of personal hatred, is a melancholy instance of the despicable shifts, and unpardonable meanneſſes, to which men will descend to gratify their resentment or ambition.

It is to be hoped, that the nation will attend to this fact, and be on its guard against similar deceptions in future. If the mischievous motions of Lord Lansdowne had been adopted, and the French had declined treating with Mr. Pitt, as they were requested to do, his removal would have followed of course, and his adversaries would have had the satisfaction of having jockeyed Ministry and Parliament most completely, *and in a manner as ingenious, as it was profligate and unprecedented.*

Happily the motions were rejected, and what is of no less importance at this moment, the efforts to precipitate the Convention into a resolution, not to treat for peace with the present Ministry, have served only to expose the guilt and duplicity of those who had recourse to them.

and



and until such a design is avowed or made evident, from corroborating circumstances, it is unnecessary to comment on the folly and iniquity, attributed to such an intention.

It is unworthy of your understanding, or of mine, my Lord, to combat phantoms, and much more so to create them. I shall only observe, that the nation that undertakes to restore monarchy in France, as it was, previous to the Revolution in 1789, must have resolved to play double or quits, and for engaging in an enterprize so extravagant, so full of peril, and certainly as infamous as it would be hazardous, deserves to lose the game.

The object of the present contest, as I understand it, is merely to restore order in a country, whose maxims have endangered the peace of other nations, and until this desirable object is obtained, I do not see how we can, consistently with our own internal safety, sheath the sword which we have been forced to draw in defence, not of a vain point of honour, but of our acres, of our fire sides,—of our wives and of our children.—Whenever these can be assured to us,—Whenever the foul and sanguinary project is relinquished, of seducing a numerous and virtuous peasantry to assassinate their landlords, and usurp their property; whenever the wicked expedient is renounced, of compelling our manu-

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facturers

facturers and husbandmen to abandon peaceful agriculture, and forsake wholesome reputable labour, for carnage, dissipation, and every species of military licence, and whenever the country can repose in confidence on the faith of the new Government in France, there is not a man, I am persuaded, either in or out of Parliament, that would not cheerfully vote for closing the contest.

But circumstanced as we are, and contending, not to support the pride and pageantry of Kings, but for interests infinitely dearer to us than either, and without which existence, would be a curse, not a blessing. We must fight it out.—We have no alternative, and the combat must last, my Lord, while France continues iniquitous and insane, or until she is incapacitated for farther hostility. Until one of these events happen, we cannot, dare not, talk of peace. The French themselves avow, “*that such a measure is at present premature, by being incompatible with their internal safety,*” and would it be less so with that of ours, my Lord?

The French see to the full as much danger in the return of peace, as your Grace can possibly apprehend from the continuation of the war; and under these circumstances, forced as we have been into the contest, and compelled to persevere in it, not only in self-defence, but  
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from the inability of our enemies to conclude it. What remedy have we but in our strength? What hope but in our exertions, and our fortitude?

Having premised thus much to your Grace, I will not dissemble, that the offer of peace on such conditions as the Minister could listen to, and the nation receive in safety, would afford much consolation to a mind not apt to despond. But really, my Lord, with all my rooted aversion to war, and with all my anxiety for that calm, so necessary to the safety and felicity of mankind; I do not see any immediate prospect of so desirable an event, but on the contrary, a succession of obstacles, arising from a succession of blunders and of crimes, and which are likely to continue, until debility incapacitates both parties for further hostility, or until one of them falls in the contest. “ *C’est une guerre à mort, & dans un combat à mort il faut vaincre ou mourir.*”

Such was the language of M. Le Brun\*, and of some other members of the French Executive

\* Le Brun, Secretary of State for foreign affairs. This man has since been dragged to the scaffold, and his dawn of existence, contrasted with its meridian and setting, proves how very much human life is the sport of contingencies; how it depends upon accident, and how very circumscribed

tive Council, in November 1792, who, intoxicated with the victories of Dumourier, and as ignorant of our resources, as they appeared to have been too confident in their own, prepared for hostilities in the full persuasion, that if they could not *bully* us, they could *crush* us. Pressed as we were, and exposed to all that violence could offer, or chicanery devise: in danger of being ultimately beggared, massacred, and what is worse, dishonoured, if we submitted to the harsh and insolent conditions which were exacted, and certain, at least, of escaping the infamy of the last, if we resisted: your Grace must confess, that the alternative of war, was better than that of peace, even if it had been allowed us, but the precipitancy of the Convention, put the latter entirely out of the question, and as we could not decline the combat, must we not abide by the consequences? Surely, my Lord, you would not remind us of your affinity to James the Second,

are the views and capacities of mankind! This miserable but unlamented victim, had been a common soldier; he afterwards obtained his discharge, and became an adventurer, but being of mean origin, and unprotected by a court ever ready to patronize crimes from which it derived an advantage, he was compelled to fly from his country. He returned to it after the revolution, with a legion of other proscribed vagabonds; became Secretary of State, and was executed. Valoit-il la peine Monseigneur d'être Ministre d'état pour périr le moment après sur l'échafaud?

by



by counselling us to sound a retreat before the battle commences ? Your noble colleague, who has long been a trader in bad omens, discovers nothing but ruin in the contest, and pronounces the nation to be undone, if she fires another gun in the quarrel.

He said exactly the same thing of the American war, yet his country spurning the *death warrant* of his Lordship, seems to have acquired a new lease of strong political life, and certainly enjoys better health than ever\*.

With a view to frighten us into peace, the noble Marquis has assured us, that the last campaign was DISASTROUS ! *Disastrous*, my Lord ! does conquest mean defeat, in the vocabulary of his Lordship, or have the herd of literary sycophants, whom his mistaken bounty feeds, formed a new dictionary, in which every word has a sense, assigned to it contrary to its general and established import ? If not ; on what ground can either your Grace, or his Lordship, call the last campaign DISASTROUS ? Is the recovery of Holland from the dominion of France, a DISASTER ? Can the repressing of her armies within her northern frontiers, breaking the spirit of those armies, and reducing some of her frontier towns, be called DISASTROUS ?——Are the final extinction of the French power, and

\* Vide Chalmers' Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great-Britain—Printed for Stockdale, Piccadilly.



the total destruction of all the French settlements in Asia, with an arsenal consumed, her navy crippled, and her commerce ruined, DISASTERS? If so, your Grace may add to this distressing catalogue of misfortunes, the entire expulsion of the French from the Newfoundland fishery, and the acquisition of the most valuable part of St. Domingue\* to the British empire.—Such are the fruits derived from our exertions in the last campaign, and will your Grace presume to qualify as DISASTROUS, what evidently leads not only to the extension of the power and commerce of your country, but to her security, as well as prosperity?

It is not very candid to bewail as unfortunate, and to represent as calamitous in the extreme, what, if they had been acquired under his Lordship's administration, would have been trumpetted forth by scribblers of all sizes, as the suggestions of wisdom, and the heroic achievements of valour. This conduct in his Lordship, betrays a partiality for his own judgment, and opinion of his own parts, which happily

\* The annual exports from the French part of this Island, on an average for the last three years, previous to the Revolution, amounted to upwards of seven millions sterling; all that wealth will now flow into this country, and what is of no less consequence to its grandeur and opulence, it will open a market of considerable extent for every description of British manufactures.

for the publicly interest, are not current in the nation, nor very likely to obtain any credit, beyond the confines of Berkley Square. That the conduct of the war should be arraigned by those who deny the necessity, or dispute the expediency of it, is very natural. It is reasonable to suppose, that they will avail themselves of every opportunity, to depreciate a measure, which they condemn, and endeavour to prove its fallacy and absurdity, by the means which are taken to ensure its success. The matter of surprise is, that men qualified to give an opinion on a question of such moment, should have a doubt as to the justice of resisting unprovoked aggression, and the necessity of supporting the Minister with ZEAL and UNANIMITY, in repelling an injury, not of a partial or personal nature, but of vast and general extent, in which the comfort and security of the peasant, is no less endangered than those of the prince. It is the cottage, as well as the palace that is threatened; and in a cause so universal, which includes all descriptions, ranks, professions, and sexes, in which the property of every individual, with all his natural and acquired rights, are brought into hazard and menaced with ruin, it would argue the extreme of cowardice, not to defend them with an ardor proportioned to their value, and still more atrocious would it be to relinquish them

without

without a struggle. That Ministers may have erred in some particular instances as to the general policy which this country ought to observe towards the other powers of Europe, may be very possible, and it is equally possible that the equity and moderation of princes, may be to the full as hypothetical, as the rectitude of those who oppose them, but the virtue of either or both, being equivocal, is no reason why the war into which country has been hurried by the madness and crimes of France, should not be prosecuted with vigour, and supported with fortitude. It is not my inttention to palliate blunders, or to flatter royalty. The interests of society would be betrayed, not supported by such concessions, and the stake at issue is of more value in my estimation, than the favour of Ministers, or the smiles of the Court. But on this occasion no blame can be imputed to the one, no danger can arise from defending the other. The former have an arduous and difficult task to execute. Is it fair; Is it liberal; I will ask if it is patriotic? Nay, my Lord, is it either decent or honest in your Grace, to force them, as it were from the great objects that occupy their attention; from the perilous duties in which they are engaged, to the unimportant considerations of propositions fallacious in the extreme, dangerous to discuss, and which, if adopted,

would

would be productive of much serious mischief, not only to Government, but to every individual in the empire? It is not very easy to penetrate into the minds of men and discover the secret springs of action; nor is it altogether fair to interpret them at random. I know of no other method to judge of their purity or baseness, than by that reputation which every man at a certain time of life has established in the opinion of the world, or, by the personal interest which he may have in what he recommends to others, or undertakes to perform himself.

Try the motion of your noble colleague, my Lord, by this criterion, and trust me there will be but one opinion on the subject throughout the empire!

He has proposed peace in the pleasing hope, no doubt of being called upon to make it, and not without the no less pleasing hope perhaps of making as much by it as report says he did make by the last.—“*Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the children of God.*”<sup>\*</sup> But his Lordship’s ambition is not of that description:—He is more modest, and satisfied with reward upon earth, is willing to take his chance for the blessing hereafter with the rest of mankind. That the situa-

\* See Matthew, chap. v. verse 9.



tion of Europe is calamitous and precarious cannot be disputed ; nor am I without very serious apprehensions for the issue of this tremendous conflict ; but the courage of mankind is never so well tried as by events ; and States as well as individuals are often indebted to great and extraordinary occasions for a knowledge of their force and resources. It is the characteristic of timid minds to shrink from contest the moment it is offered—It is the curse of bold ones to rush into hazard, and trust to accident for a favourable issue ; but the mind conscious of its rectitud , and collected within itself, meets with becoming fortitude the evils it cannot avoid, and trusting to its vigour and resources, is alike prepared for triumph or submission. The perils which surround us are unquestionably of a nature to excite alarm, but not to justify despondency : for who, my Lord, will have the effrontery to assert that our resources are not equal to the occasion ? Who would have the baseness to surrender the independence, the honour, and dignity of the nation to an assemblage of ruffians stained with the blood of their wretched countrymen, and who are only held together by an excitement to fresh crimes, or the dread of punishment for the past ?—Is it to such merciless beings, for you cannot call them human, that your Grace would sacrifice the pride and  
interests,



interests of Great Britain? Is it before such men, my Lord, that you would wish to see the unsubdued spirit of your country fall prostrate? Is it from such men that you would meanly implore that peace as a favour, which they may soon be compelled to solicit from your mercy? Is it from France, dishonoured, bankrupt, and undone;—is it from France desolated and disgraced by crime, where even MURDER, pausing in blood, stands aghast at the ruin she has made! that Britain on her knees is to receive as a boon what she holds from Heaven as a right? Fie upon it, my Lord! hold better doctrines;—doctrines better suited to our virtues and our courage; and cease to remind us of your origin!

Had France confined her efforts to the regeneration of herself, without attempting to regenerate other nations—had she not employed every effort to subvert our Constitution, by presenting to us, not for choice, but acceptance, new laws, and new modes of thinking—had she never promulgated in other States the doctrines of equality in their worst and most perverted sense, she would have found FRIENDS, not *enemies*, in Englishmen; but when it was discovered that the opinions which she introduced among us for the purpose of corrupting and dividing us, were adopted by the dissolute and penniless, and that

these men, atrocious and despised as they were in their own country, were received, flattered and caressed by the Convention and Executive Council, all sober men became alarmed, and beheld in France an insidious and dangerous foe; every man brought home to his own breast the unpardonable horrors committed in Paris—he beheld his own family butchered in cold blood, and without provocation, ignorant of his own fate, and not assured of surviving them an instant, such were the sentiments excited by her conduct; and who, let me ask your Grace, could possibly preserve any esteem for a people so void of humanity, and whose aim was to involve us in all the infamy and all the complicated miseries with which they are afflicted and dishonoured? Who would wish to correct the errors and vices in our Constitution and Government at such a terrible expence of public and of private ruin? Who would prefer the ruthless and deplorable anarchy in which France is involved, the duration of which is likely to extend beyond the present generation, to a state of order and security? Weigh and combine all these circumstances, my Lord, well together, and you will agree with me, that our anger was not without cause, nor our alarm without foundation.

“ *While*

30 “ *While we behold minorities contending not for*  
 “ *principles, but power ; and disputing, not for*  
 “ *the Constitution, but for Government,*” we should  
 neither be surprized at the obstinacy with which  
 they assert that the French had no design against  
 the internal peace of this country, nor the perse-  
 verance with which they maintain the necessity  
 of an immediate reform in Parliament.—The  
 French, more modest, plead guilty to the  
 charge—avow their intentions, and confident of  
 success, declare, “ *that we are in a state of insur-*  
 “ *rection.*”—This was announced in form to the  
 National Convention by the President in No-  
 vember 1792 ; and that all France might par-  
 take of the triumph, the pleasing intelligence  
 was not only printed, and stuck up in every  
 street in Paris, but transmitted by order of the  
 Legislature, to all the Departments.

“ *Les Anglais, ces fiers insulaires, nos frères*  
 “ *ainés en liberté, vont à notre exemple renverser*  
 “ *leur Trone, chasser leur Roi, et porter la liberté*  
 “ *jusqu’au fond de l’Asie !*”—(The English—  
 “ Those proud Islanders, our elder brothers in  
 “ liberty, are preparing to follow our example ;  
 “ to destroy the Throne ; banish their King,  
 “ and extend the blessings of freedom to the  
 “ extremity of Asia.”)—Such was the declara-  
 tion of Monsieur Gregoire ; but the voluntary  
 confession, or rather the impudent boast of the  
 criminal,

criminal, it seems, is not sufficient evidence of his guilt; and the Gentlemen in Opposition, availing themselves of the latitude (amounting almost to impunity) which our laws afford to those who are *dexterous* as well as SEDITIOUS, clamour for *legal proofs*, which their associates they know were careful should never be recorded against them in a court of justice; while, presuming on this deficiency of *legal proof*, they deny the fact *in toto*, and give the lie not only to the declarations of the French, but to the evidence of their own senses, and, on some occasions, to that of their own conduct.

It is not within the narrow limits of a letter that the question of Reform can be properly discussed, nor was it in my contemplation even to touch upon a subject so delicate and important, and on which it would be presumptuous in an individual to decide, when such a variety of opinions are entertained, not only as to the necessity of the measure, but as to the probability of any practical good resulting from it.—No specific plan of Reform has yet been regularly offered to our notice, but the acknowledged fact, that, *there are scarce two men in the kingdom agreed as to the extent of the Reform, or as to the mode of carrying it into execution*, is a circumstance that will ever make good men PAUSE!—It is certainly a circumstance that commands



commands the most serious attention of all who do not aim at procuring a complete dissolution of the Government, and to those who are so disposed; to those who wish the English Constitution to be subverted, I would say—*The Throne may be destroyed; the House of Peers abolished; and the whole system of representation undergo an entire change; the idle, the indigent, and profligate, may be qualified to vote, and even acquire the right to legislate for you, but will your liberties by such a change be extended? Will your persons and your property be rendered more secure? Or will your conditions in society be improved in any one instance?*

The man who would answer without hesitation any one of these questions in the affirmative, and expect to be believed, should present his credentials from Heaven as a Prophet, for he would not speak like a Legislator or a Philosopher;—such a man would evidently appear to have read very little, and to have reasoned still less on the nature of civil Government; history and experience on such a man could certainly have made no impression; and in all probability it would appear on enquiry, that he had passed through life without any good purpose either to himself or others.—But to return; in all former contests, we could penetrate with ease through distant events, and look forward



forward with a degree of certainty to a given time for their termination ; an island in Asia or America was perhaps the boundary of our respective pretensions, and that obtained or relinquished, and end was put to hostilities ; but in this direful conflict, every prospect and every hope of peace is rudely banished from the mind ; and the venal and profligate BARRERE, (who received a bribe in 1790 from the very Sovereign whom he sentenced to the scaffold, for the favourable report on the Royal Domains) has the audacity to declare, that “ *France* “ *will never listen to offers of Peace until every Go-* “ *vernment in Europe is destroyed.*” I do not believe that any nation has yet so degraded herself as to have solicited peace ; and to talk of rejecting proposals that have not been, and are not likely to be made, partakers of the vanity which distinguished that country under the old system. But the folly and bombast of this egotism is lost in the atrocity and horrible principle on which the war is avowedly to be prosecuted. It is to be a war of extermination—it is not against a too extensive territory—or against a potent and dangerous neighbour ; nor is it for the purpose of extending their frontier that the French wage war ; neither is the war to be partial ; it is not to be directed against those States who immediately surround France, but against all Europe, against all

all Mankind ; it is to be UNIVERSAL, and pursued until all the existing Governments in Europe are subverted, its innumerable inhabitants set at variance with each other, and all ties of blood and friendship dissolved between them. With such principles, what honest man will have the effrontery to espouse her cause ? With objects so enormous and frightful in view, what nation would be so wanting to itself as to associate with her ? Can she ever seriously hope for peace after such a declaration ? a declaration no less impious than absurd, and which would merit ridicule and contempt, but for the preparations which are making to carry it into effect ?

The French boast of having a powerful party in the British Parliament. They entertain the same opinion of the other States with whom they are at issue, and this infatuation must be destroyed.

Remember, my Lord, that the French having insisted on the universal subversion of Monarchy, it is impossible to treat with them while they have such an object in view. When they have recovered from their present delirium, when they have relinquished all those wild and criminal projects by which, as a measure of self-defence, France has armed all Europe against her, the sword may be sheathed, but while nothing short of our absolute ruin will

content her, the pride of Britain will, I hope, expend in the defence of her rights and possessions, her last man and her last farthing. France has made it a question, Whether we shall exist as a nation or not? She has forced us to meet her on that ground, and our honour as well as our interest will not allow us to abandon it.—The very justice of our cause inspires us with confidence, while the approved valour of our troops is an assurance of success. Let our exertions be proportioned to the magnitude of the danger, and the issue will be glorious for our country and humanity.

UNITED AT HOME, we have nothing to fear from abroad; and this is the language which as a Peer of Parliament, as a Magistrate, and above all, as an ENGLISHMAN, it is your duty to hold.—This country, my Lord, has had many serious and severe trials, yet she has hitherto triumphed over all difficulties. She was harassed for more than half a century by the impudent claims of a family which she had sent into exile for dishonouring the Throne to which she had raised them; and it is owing to the circumstance of your birth, my Lord, that you do not partake of their misfortunes.

The courage of this country has frequently been called forth, and on occasions where it was expected she would have fallen in the struggle,

gle, but her magnanimity equal to every emergency, enabled her to resist every attack, and to rise from under the pressure of accumulated distress with redoubled vigour. If engaged as we have seen her in a civil war, and in a state of hostility, secret and avowed, with nearly the whole of Europe, she was enabled to resist her potent and numerous foes ;

If by the wisdom of her councils, the vigour of her operations, and the gallantry of her arms, she triumphed over her enemies in all quarters of the world, why should she despair with all Europe almost in alliance with her ? With all Europe combatting by her side, and united to her by the common danger with which they are threatened, with every moral certainty of a successful issue to the contest, why should she despond ; why should she with victory in view anticipate defeat, and meanly solicit peace of a people who would reject the suit with an haughtiness equal to the baseness with which it was solicited ?

The league formed against her in the American war, threatened much more serious mischief to her commerce and dominion than the present contest.

India was in a manner wrested from her sway, she was totally excluded from the Mediterranean, several of her sugar islands had been



taken, and a line of coast (once in her possession, and extending from the Gulph of Florida to the Bay of Fundy) was in declared rebellion, yet, notwithstanding these unexampled difficulties, notwithstanding these numerous losses, and the powerful confederacy resolved to expel her from Asia and America, notwithstanding every effort to extinguish her influence on shore and her empire at sea, her flag still flies triumphant in the four quarters of the world! The British name is still held in reverence; and, what ought to be as flattering to the pride as it is honourable to the character of an Englishman, his protection has been solicited, and his succour is deemed a security against the inroads of vagabonds let loose from all restraint, and armed with principles as diabolical in their nature, as they have been found mischievous and ruinous in their application.

These are facts which cannot be controverted, and to hold out a miserable catalogue of evils as peculiar to this war, which we know to be common to all wars, and to excite ill founded alarms in the minds of your fellow citizens, is to side, my Lord, with malice against candour, and with ignorance against experience, it is the foul and unnatural junction of vice and virtue, which for a variety of reasons you should dis-  
claim

claim without hesitation, and abandon without regret.

Your rank in society demands the sacrifice, (if you should unhappily deem it such) and your country expects it as an atonement for the errors of an Administration, to the account of which much of that democratic spirit which rages at present may be placed.

There is nothing more criminal, my Lord, than to excite ill founded alarms in times of public danger; and it is to the full as idle to give implicit faith to every tale which malice or ignorance may propagate. It is the misfortune of France to be still under an infatuation as fatal to her own interests as it is mischievous to those of other nations.—She still looks forward in confidence to riot and revolt in this country \*, and firmly believes that the instant an at-

“ La Cour de Londres, qui craint la guerre semble l'ennemie de la paix—elle affecte un contenance qui en impose au peuple Anglais, mais si vous vous montrez rigides, si vous vous constituez l'état, et si le poids de votre politique écrase tous ses partisans, & comprime ses combinaisons, le lendemain du jour où elle aura paru le plus éloignée de la paix, la plus confiante dans sa force et la plus superbe dans ses prétensions, elle proposera la paix.”

*Report from the Committee of Public Safety at  
Paris to the National Convention, 27 Feb.*

1794.

tack

tack is made from WITHOUT the Govern-  
ment will be assailed and subverted WITHIN.  
It is this vain, this delusive idea, that stimulates  
her to menace us with an invasion ; and count-  
ing upon a general defection from one end of  
the kingdom to the other, it is possible she may  
be seduced to make the attempt, and hazard a  
descent. Her sole hope of success is in this pro-  
mised defection—Defection did I call it ? Say  
rather, a mean and dastardly renunciation of  
our national character ; a base and perfidious de-  
sertion of our country, of all that is venerable  
and dear in the estimation of mankind, and of  
which even France would have believed us in-  
capable but for the pains which have been taken  
to misrepresent every action of the British Go-  
vernment, and to delude an intoxicated people  
into a belief that the Parliament and the nation  
are on the eve of a violent and irreparable rup-  
ture \*. It is this libel on the English Empire that

we

“ On a tué Marat & banni Margerot dont on a confisqué  
les biens—tous les tyrans en ont marqué leur joie !—Que  
Margerot revienne de Botani Bay ! qu’il ne perisse point !  
et que sa destinée soit plus forte que le Gouvernement qui  
l’opprime !

“ Les Révolutions commencent toujours par d’ILLUS-  
TRES MALHEUREUX.—Que la Providence accompagne  
Margerot à Botani-Bay ! QU’UN DECRET ~~X~~ PEUPLE AF-

FRANCHI

we are called upon to refute and punish. It is this audacious, this ill-founded calumny against the British nation, that should animate us to give the lie at once to the assertions and hopes of our enemies. We owe it to ourselves to convince them, that however we may cavil at home, we will ever be united and faithful to each other against all attempts to divide us from abroad; and that more insulted by the suspicions entertained of our loyalty, than alarmed at the danger with which we are threatened, we are resolved to prosecute the war to a just and honourable conclusion. Such, my Lord, is the language we should hold—such the conduct it is incumbent on us to pursue; and whatever

FRANCHI, LE RAPPELLE DU FOND DES DESERTS OU VENGE  
SA MEMOIRE.” *Ibid.*

These are not the loose, unconnected sentiments of private individuals, my Lord, of no authority in France, but the declaration of the men entrusted with the whole Government of the country, and who address this language in their official and ministerial capacities to the French Legislature and to the World.—Is it to those that your Grace would propose peace? Is it from those you could hope to receive it? and do you believe that they would grant it, unless one of his Majesty's ships was first dispatched to Botany Bay to bring back the “ILLUSTRIOUS EXILE,” (as they call him) from the deserts of New Holland?

may



may be the event of the struggle, whether it should be prosperous, as we are authorized to expect, or whether it should, contrary to reason, justice, and appearances, prove unfortunate, we shall have the satisfaction to reflect, either in victory or in defeat, that we have acquitted ourselves like BRITONS !

AN

## Exculpation of M. de la Fayette

FROM

The Charges unjustly advanced, and indecently urged  
against him by

MR. B U R K E,

*In the House of Commons, on the 17th March, 1794,*

---

**I**T is not very decent, and certainly not very  
consistent in Mr. Burke who has opposed  
almost every measure of the Crown through life  
with an asperity peculiar to himself, to come  
forward and pretend to more loyalty than the  
rest of his Majesty's subjects.—We should how-  
ever pardon the vanity of this singular preten-  
sions in a man anxious to atone perhaps for the  
acrimony with which he treated his Sovereign  
in his illness, if our anger was not provoked by  
the arrogance with which it is accompanied, of  
dictating to us in matters merely speculative,  
and laying down rules for our allegiance and  
M submission,

submission, with a bull of excommunication against those who differ in opinion with this “*Sir Oracle*” of modern times.—Mr. Burke, not satisfied with pretending to be more dutiful to the King, and more affectionate to his person, would assume the right to regulate our faith and square our obedience by a measurement of his own fabrication, founded on the principles and exploded maxims of Archbishop Laud, Sir Robert Filmer, and other gentlemen of that description, who having vegetated without respect, perished unlamented in the last century.

It has been deemed a symptom of disaffection to his Majesty and to his Government, to dissent from Mr. Burke in what he advances relative to the revolution that happened in this country in 1688, as well as to what concerns the less fortunate, but not less merited one which took place in France in 1789.—The principles on which the former was accomplished have been wifully misrepresented, for I will not pay so ill a compliment to the talents and reading of Mr. Burke, as to attribute the novel doctrines he has lain down, respecting the former, to ignorance or incapacity ;—and I feel it a grievance as well as an insult, that the loyalty of Gentlemen in this country should be arraigned, for maintaining that a revolution in France had become a necessary and laudable measure.

The

The emancipation of an entire people from the arbitrary dominion of an individual, and the vexatious oppressions which they endured from the pride, avarice, and despotism of a few, will ever afford matter of rational triumph to those whose minds are not debased by tyranny or deformed by prejudice; and on this ground it was that I rejoiced, in common with millions, when the Bastile fell. That the French have mistaken their road, and that they have fallen under an oppression infinitely more extensive, and more horrible than the one which good men, in all parts of the world, universally reprobated, proves indeed the extreme depravity and general profligacy of the country, but is surely no argument against the propriety or necessity of the revolution in itself, any more than that the scandalous and licentious manners of half the Bishops in France should invalidate the truth of the Christian religion.—I have no doubt that when Luther attempted to purge the church of its filth and iniquities; when he exposed the guilt and effrontery of degrading the Divinity into a Pedlar, and giving him a stall in every chapel and convent in Christendom to sell pardons for past and future crimes, but that a pampered and dissolute priesthood in those days found prostitute scribes to justify the abuses he condemned, and to write against the



reformation which he urged, and which was certainly not the less necessary for having been proposed by a man whose morals were perhaps to the full as corrupt as those whom he condemned.

As Mr. Burke has endeavoured to throw an odium on those who rejoice in the subversion of the ancient Government in France, and to draw inferences from thence of disaffection to the Constitution, it is not extraordinary that he should also consider it as criminal to express any esteem for those who were instrumental in effecting a revolution which was meant to root out long established evils, and substitute in their place wholesome, provident laws, which binding alike upon all, should give protection and support to all.

Mr. Burke seems disposed to carry this prejudice, to say nothing worse of it, still farther.—It is not only an argument, in his opinion, of disaffection to the English Government to approve of the French revolution, and of the motives of those who effected it, but even to express sentiments of compassion for such as have fallen victims to an intemperate zeal, or to a want of foresight.

Among the proscribed we find the name of a man, who is not only accused of being accessory to the assassination of private individuals,  
but

but of having connived at the departure of the Royal Family, for the execrable purpose of obtaining popularity with the rabble, by bringing them back prisoners to Paris. It is almost fair to suppose that those who can attribute such foul and atrocious intentions to another, without proofs or probability, are capable of executing them. The best answer that can be given to the assertions of Mr. Burke in the House of Commons on the 17th inst. is to publish the speech of M. de la Fayette at the moment that Foulon was massacred: It is recorded in a journal called *L'AMI DU ROY*, par Monsr. Montjoye; the author of which will certainly not be suspected of having any predilection either for the Revolution or for those who were concerned in it.

If M. de la Fayette could possibly have saved the lives of Foulon \* and Berthier, the author  
of

\* This man fell a victim to his bad character—to that general prejudice which is adopted very often without cause, and as often continued from the indolence of those who imbibed it, not permitting them to enquire into the truth or falsehood of the reports and opinions they hear. This unfortunate man was the most abhorred of any in France, and in such detestation was his very name held, that two of his nephews against whom there was no reproach, were refused admission into a club in Paris in the year 1787, by having  
eighty

of this Journal, devoted to the Court and the Aristocratic party in France, would certainly have reproached, with his accustomed severity, the criminal negligence of M. de la Fayette, against whom he was always ready to publish whatever was likely to injure his character and discredit him with the people. When a man so decidedly against him is perfectly silent on a subject, which could not have escaped his knowledge (for he was on the spot) I do not think that the slander of Mr. Burke can be more effectually refuted than by the publication of the harangue recorded (by this friend of the King) without comment or contradiction, nor can Mr. Burke with any decency question the veracity of one of his own witnesses.—As I have this va-

eighty black balls in an hundred against them, from the circumstance of their being called Foulon.

Incensed at the brutal violence of the mob whom he could not restrain, and incensed at a murder which reflected disgrace on his country, M. de la Fayette resigned his command, and it was with difficulty that he was prevailed upon to resume it. This circumstance alone proves that he was sensibly affected by the massacre of this unfortunate victim, while his conduct previous to the melancholy event proves that he not only condemned the violence, but exerted every effort in his power to prevent it.—His having been accessory therefore to the murder, or having had it in his power to prevent it, are assertions which Mr. Burke upon reflection must certainly blush to have advanced.

luable

luable collection in my possession, I shall publish the discourse in the language in which it was delivered, that those who may have been equally fortunate in preserving the productions of the same author from the general wreck, may compare them, and bear evidence to the fidelity of my quotation.—The World I trust will acknowledge the justice of my conclusions.

THE ADDRESS OF

M. DE LA FAYETTE *to the* PEOPLE,

*On the 22d July, 1789.*

*Extrait du Journal du l'Ami du Roi du Mois de  
Juillet, 1789.*

“ JE suis connu de vous tous, vous m’avez nommé votre General, et ce choix qui m’honore, m’impose le devoir de vous parler avec la liberté et la franchise qui sont la base de mon caractère.—Vous voulez faire perir sans jugement cet homme qui est devant vous, c’est une injustice qui vous deshonne qui me flétriroit moi-même, qui flétriroit tous les efforts que j’ai fait en faveur de la liberté—si j’étois assez  
foible



foible pour la permettre : je ne la permettrai pas cette injustice, mais je suis bien loin de prétendre le sauver s'il est coupable, je veux seulement que cet homme soit conduit en prison pour être jugé par le tribunal que la nation indiquera. — Je veux que la loi soit respectée, la loi sans laquelle il n'est point de liberté, la loi sans le secours de laquelle je n'aurois point contribué à la révolution du Nouveau Monde, et sans laquelle je ne contribuerai pas à la révolution qui se prépare ; ce que je dis en faveur des formes et de loi, ne doit pas être interprété en faveur de Mons. Foulon, je ne suis pas suspect à son égard, et peut-être même la manière dont je me suis exprimé sur son compte dans plusieurs occasions suffiroit seule pour m'interdire le droit de le juger, mais plus il est présumé coupable plus il est important que les formes s'observent à son égard, soit pour rendre sa punition plus éclatante, soit pour l'interroger légalement et avoir de sa bouche la révélation de ses complices, ainsi je vais donner ordre qu'il soit conduit à l'Abbaye."

## TRANSLATION OF THE PRECEDING LETTER.

“ I am known to you all—You have nominated me to be your General ; but the choice which you have made, and which confers on me the highest honour, also imposes on me as a duty the necessity of speaking to you with that sincerity and frankness which constitute my character.—You seem resolved to destroy the man without trial who is prostrate before you and at your mercy ;—but such violence would be as dishonourable to yourselves, as to the cause of liberty in which we are embarked ; and tho’ I cannot suffer so flagrant an act of injustice to be committed, I am very far from wishing to preserve guilt from punishment.—I only request that you will permit this man to be conducted to prison, that he may be tried agreeable to the laws, and by such a tribunal as the nation may appoint.—All I desire is that the law may be respected, without which it is impossible that LIBERTY can exist, or that I can contribute to the revolution which is preparing in this country, as I did to that which has been accomplished in America.—What I have advanced in favour of the laws, and of the forms of justice, will not, I trust, be interpreted as argu-

ments in favour of M. Foulon.—I certainly shall not be suspected of any partiality towards him ; and the very manner in which I have, on a variety of occasions, delivered my opinion of him, deprives me of the right of judging him. But the more culpable he appears to be, remember the more incumbent it is on you to respect the laws by which alone he can be condemned. —Whether it is your wish that his punishment should be exemplary, or whether it is merely your intention to interrogate him, for the purpose of discovering his accomplices, it is necessary that he should be preserved from outrage ; I shall therefore give directions that he is conducted to the Abbey \*."

\* The judicious reader will easily conceive the extreme difficulty of even obtaining an hearing from an immense mob under the influence of rage, and that the only possible chance of rescuing an individual from the fury of their resentment was by the expedient of conducting him to prison.

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The second charge which has been urged against M. de la Fayette, not in the full and direct manner in which he was accused as an accomplice in the murder of Foulon, but by  
whispers

whispers as industriously circulated as they were maliciously designed, can be refuted more positively, and perhaps more satisfactorily than the first, by an appeal to facts and to authentic documents. The improbability of the story is in itself a proof of its falsehood; nor can it be credited, that if M. de la Fayette had been privy to the departure of the King for the purposes so inhumanely attributed to him, that he would have allowed his Majesty to have travelled within 15 miles of the frontier before he had him stopped, and especially as Varennes was the last town through which the hapless Monarch had to pass in which he had any danger to apprehend.

If La Fayette had played so foul, so infamous a part, one of his aid du camps, and not the post-master Drouet,\* who alone derived éclat from the arrest, would have stopped the Royal Travellers. But without entering into all the detail of argument and variety of reasons that may be urged in favour of M. de la Fayette, his claims to innocence will be established on the declaration of the Queen alone, whose evidence, under the distressing, the awful circum-

\* This man, on his examination before the National Assembly, never mentioned the name of M. de la Fayette, but gave as a reason for having the carriage stopped, that "*he thought he discovered the King in it.*"



stances in which she found herself, commands respect and confidence.

She declared that “*Monsieur de la Fayette was ignorant of her departure.*” Her account of the manner in which she left Paris corroborates her assertion; and if the arrest of the King should be advanced as presumptive evidence that La Fayette was in the secret, the declaration attributed to the Marquis de Bouillé explains what was in the first moment considered as evidence of La Fayette’s guilt.—M. de Bouillé declared, first, “*That the King left Paris TWENTY-FOUR hours later than the time agreed upon*; and that the detachments assembled for the purpose of escorting his Majesty, excited suspicions round the country.

2d. One of these detachments, composed of 50 hussars, and commanded by a son of the Marquis de Bouillé, was twenty-four hours without any kind of refreshment either for the men or their horses; and their having retreated to procure themselves refreshments, they could not get back in time to prevent the tumults and disorders of the people, assembled at first from motives of simple curiosity.

3d. It has also appeared I believe from the testimony of Count de Damas, that the garde de corps who preceded the carriage was three quarters of an hour in the streets of Varennes seeking for  
horses

horses, being uninformed that the relay was to wait, and to be without the gates.

4. It is also well known, and from the same authority, that the King was stopped by one man only, and that he prevented the three gardes du corps, who were on the coach box, to extricate him from the danger, by dispatching this man.

5. The son of the Marquis de Bouillé, by much too young for an enterprize of such importance, would not venture to attack some unarmed men, who were collected together, and who, at the expiration of at least three hours, brought two pieces of cannon, which by the bye were not charged.—It is also worthy of remark, that M. de Bouillé had in the neighbourhood of Varennes an army of at least 50,000 men, and that, notwithstanding this force, he suffered the King to be seized and carried off.

Every well-informed mind knows that there is not more than 15 English miles from Varennes to the frontiers of France, and that in two hours his Majesty might have passed the French territory. Is it then probable, that if M. de la Fayette had been in the secret, that he would have deferred the seizure of his Majesty's person until he arrived on the spot, where it was a thousand to one that he could not have been stopped,  
and

and where if he had not delayed his departure so long from the metropolis, there would have been a force sufficient to have protected him?—If there is any blame on this unfortunate occasion, it is not on M. de la Fayette, but on M. de Bouillé, that it ought to fall, who however may not deserve perhaps any other censure for the failure of the enterprize than what is due to imprudence and incapacity.

All that was done in consequence of this melancholy event was for the security of those who had any property in Paris, and whoever denies these well-known facts, and pronounces M. de la Fayette guilty, must either have a very bad memory, or be extremely deficient in candour and sincerity.—Surely the evidence of people on the spot is much more to be depended upon than that of the emigrants at Coblenz; and what ought to have a very considerable weight in the opinion of every impartial person is, that if M. de la Fayette had been in the secret, his numerous enemies in Paris, and particularly those who were endeavouring to wrest from him the command of the national guards, would not have omitted so favourable an opportunity to sacrifice the object of their hatred, and their envy to the fury of an ungovernable mob.

So far from its being credited even by those the most adverse to M. de la Fayette, and so  
convinced

convinced were they of his innocence, that when the matter was discussed in the National Assembly, and his life depended on the issue of the question, they had the magnanimity to relinquish their personal interests, to renounce all personal resentments, and decide like honest men, in favour of justice.

F I N I S.





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## EXCULPATION OF LAFAYETTE

[MILES W.A.)] A LETTER TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON, WITH NOTES, To which is annexed a Complete Exculpation of M. De la Fayette from the charges indecently urged against him by Mr. Burke, in the House of Commons, on the 17th March 1794. London: J. Owen, 1794. Pp. (4) + 95 + 2 Advert leaves, half morocco, gilt lettered back, uncut, 8vo.

VERY RARE. We have seen but one copy before and that many years ago.

Not in Sabin (his 48940 has a somewhat similar title, but another work); not in J.C.B.; see G.K. Hall's "The Clements Library Chronological Cat." for copy having our title. A very severe attack on the personal and political character of the Duke written at the time when he was apparently contemplating the possibility of being again called to Office. There are numerous retrospective references to his maladministration at the time he was in Office during the early stages of American troubles (1766-1775) and incidental mention is made of Franklin and Washington; also, Lafayette's segment occupies paged 81-95. The authorship is ascribed by Halkett & Lang to William Augustus Miles, a political writer who saw some service in the Navy under Lord Rodney in the West Indies, where he met La Fayette and with whom he renewed his acquaintance when in Paris in 1790. Hence his defence of La Fayette against the charges of Burke.





